

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE neglect or refusal of Mr. A. B. Cornell either to retire from his several political positions or to resign his office as naval officer of this port, in pursuance of the President's order respecting the civil service, has become, within the past week, almost a national scandal. Some of the Washington correspondents tell us that his obstinacy is owing to his desire to offer himself as a "test case" of the right of all American citizens to exercise political leadership, and that he intends to appeal to the Senate, under the Tenure-of-office Act, if any attempt is made to remove him. Since somebody must make the fight for the privilege of all American citizens to be leaders in politics he can serve as well as anybody, and certainly better than any obscure weigher of sugar or gauger of distilled spirits who presides over his humble ward association. Mr. Cornell represents a principle, or thinks he does, and Mr. Hayes represents a different one. The two are in antagonism and must come in violent collision with each other soon. It will be understood, of course, that when the "test case" is made it will be between Senators representing the spoils system in politics and the President representing civil-service reform. It is desirable, however, that the office-holder selected for the test should be one of sufficient prominence to fix the attention of the country, and if Mr. Cornell has selected himself for that distinction no friend of civil-service reform ought to object. If he persists, therefore, in retaining his political leadership, the President must consider him as the representative of the consolidated opposition to his civil-service policy, and must remove him from office be the consequences what they may. To order his removal and then to see him reinstated or retained by the non-concurrence of the Senate would be an excellent way to clear the field for a more decisive action, in which the whole people should participate. If the people do not want civil-service reform this would be the right way to find it out. On the other hand, to allow Mr. Cornell to defy the order with impunity would break down the Administration in respect of this particular policy and weaken it in every other.

There can be little doubt that the President's order is the "particular measure" of civil-service reform which will receive the combined attacks of the machine politicians in both Houses. That Mr. Conkling will not be found deserting his friend Mr. Cornell on this issue is not only a matter of reasonable conjecture, but may be regarded as confirmed by the noble Senator's remarks at Oswego the other day. He was addressing the "veterans, soldiers of the Army and Navy now living in Oswego County," and after mentioning the need of "earnestness of purpose in public and private affairs," and other needs more or less vague or trite, said, not obscurely:

"The way to ensure some of these things is for every man, whatever may be his occupation or position, to give some thought and action to public affairs; this is the bounden duty of every citizen whatsoever, and it is the only mode under our system of government in which that system can be made effectual and just. It was to ensure this right to every man to be heard in the public counsels, and to be counted in the majority whose judgment is the final decision in a republic, that these veterans fought and suffered. On this veterans' day it cannot be amiss to remind you how high is the obligation to discharge the duty and to assert and exercise the right for which they did and endured so much."

Brigham Young died on the 29th of last month, after a short and violent illness, at the age of seventy-six, leaving the Mormon church without a head. His death has led to some discussion of his cha-

acter and of speculation as to the future of Mormonism. As to the former, there does not seem to be much doubt that he belonged to a well-known type frequently found in other churches, and only singular to us because of the singularity of the growth of any new religion in a country like the United States. He was a man of strong will and cool intellect, ignorant enough to be near the level of the ignorant dupes whom he governed, and wise enough to know how to make their ignorance contribute to his own advantage. Joseph Smith, who founded the Mormon religion, was a very different man, with something of the mingled fanaticism and love of imposture that we expect to find in Asiatic religions. Brigham Young was, on the contrary, a bold, practical, and unscrupulous man, a ready speaker and good leader. It is difficult, however, to select language which shall adequately describe him, because the extreme lowness of the level of Mormon civilization puts it almost beyond the pale of criticism. The cold-blooded Mountain Meadows massacre, for which Lee was shot a short time ago, was traced almost directly to Young, and it is impossible to read the sickening details of it without feeling that it was natural that a community responsible for such crimes should be at first regarded more as an organized band of criminals hostile to society at large than as a constituent part of even a semi-civilized state. But from another point of view the Mormons and Brigham Young may almost be regarded as public benefactors. Their settlement at Salt Lake, and their systematic colonization from Europe, have peopled Utah, while their development of the resources of the Territory has been thorough and intelligent. Mormonism has not been in existence long enough to modify essentially the characteristics of the followers of the new faith, and with the cessation of polygamy (which is said already to be gradually dying out), and the introduction of railroads, the difference between Mormon and Gentile will gradually fade away, and Utah become like other Western communities, with the exception that it will possess a peculiar religion no more dangerous to society than that of the Shakers.

The Investigating Committee of the South Carolina Legislature, which, as we announced several weeks ago, had succeeded in procuring warrants for the arrest of Moses, Cardozo, and others, has steadily pursued its task of unearthing the rascalities of carpet-bag government, and the first fruits of its labors can be seen in the large number of indictments, just issued by the Grand Jury of the Court of General Sessions, against most of the notorious members of the mob of plunderers who for nearly eight years ruled the State. The indictments (the Grand Jury having thus far found a true bill in every case) are chiefly for bribery, conspiracy to cheat the State, and forgery, and over twenty different indictments have sometimes been brought against one man, as L. Cass Carpenter, for instance, who was concerned with Jones and Woodruff in the printing frauds. Thus far bench-warrants have been issued for the arrest of Gleaves (Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Senate), for the issue of fraudulent pay certificates; Montgomery (President *pro tem.* of the Senate), for the same offence; Jones (Clerk of the House) and Woodruff (Clerk of the Senate), for the same and for forgery; Moses (Speaker and Governor), for the same and for bribery; Parker (Treasurer), for paying money on forged warrants and for breach of trust; Jacobs (Teller of the South Carolina Banking Co.), for forgery; Patterson (United States Senator), for bribery; Scott (Governor), for conspiracy to cheat the State; and Kimpton (New York Agent for South Carolina bonds), Dunn (Comptroller-General), and Cardozo (Treasurer), for various offences. In addition, Lee (Speaker), Dennis, Rivers, Leslie, Owens, Whittemore, Swails, Hayne, Beverly Nash, Hoge, and Davidson, former members of the Legislature, have been indicted for bribery or other crimes; and it is said that a large number of indictments against other persons will be presented at the next session of the Court.

The general nature of the charges against many of the above is matter of notoriety. Jones and Woodruff, for instance, were not only clerks of the House and Senate respectively, but at the same time co-partners in business as the Republican Printing Company. As men of business, they brought in bills against the State for printing, and, as state officers, directed the bills to be paid, etc. The precise nature of the evidence against all the indicted is not yet known, as the meetings of the Investigating Committee have been secret, but that it is probably sufficient for conviction is shown by the finding of true bills in each case by a jury composed of nine white and eight colored men, twelve being necessary to find a bill. Moses, Lee, and Jones, and perhaps one or two others, appear to have turned state's evidence, and Lee, Rivers, and Dennis will testify in nearly all cases of bribery. Concerning Moses the story is told that when Speaker, and afterwards when Governor, he made a collection of papers incriminating prominent politicians of both parties, and that this collection, having been remarkably preserved in the unused drawer of a hat-rack, is now in possession of the Committee. The greater number of those indicted have fled the State, and their capture is highly problematical.

City politics are this autumn more than usually confused; and the probabilities are that the honest citizen will consequently be less than usually able to vote conscientiously without a careful revision and reconstruction of the various tickets put in the field. In the Republican camp there is much discontent. There is apparently an open breach between the Administration and Mr. Conkling; many able and efficient "workers" have been thrown out of employment or have "struck" since the Custom-House report, and many more, who lately ran primaries and fixed conventions, have had their political activity paralyzed by the civil-service order. On the other hand, the same causes which have created this dissatisfaction among the politicians have caused much rejoicing among the better class of Republicans, who see in Senator Conkling's mystic utterances on the subject of rapid transit in London and New York renewed evidence that the party is not to be led by him in the future, and in the reforms instituted a promise that the "machine" is to be finally disestablished.

Among the Democrats there is by no means that harmony which ought to prevail, or which, last fall, when the Presidency was at stake, could be made at least to seem to prevail by careful leaders. Tammany Hall, led by Kelly, has not proved at all what from the "boss's" frequent announcement of the excellence of his intention, we were led to expect. It is still threatened by anti-Tammany, and the behavior of Kelly during the past six months in trying to fill all the departments with his own creatures has not been at all satisfactory to independent men. The intestine difficulties of Tammany have been heightened by the struggle over the police commissionership, into which Kelly tried a short time since to get his friend Purroy. Had he succeeded, Purroy would have been there at the time of the strike, and it is not too much to say that a great city cannot afford to have Purroy and a strike at the same time. What would have happened had the police force, instead of being presided over by a trained and faithful army officer, had at its head a common ward politician, a natural friend of the dangerous classes, it is impossible to say. But the termination of the struggle over this office has not, as we say, tended to allay the jealousies which are rife among the Democrats. The Germans are dissatisfied and indignant, while the city debt does not show that steady process of reduction which warrants any hope of speedy alleviation of the burdens of taxation. Kelly has just produced a budget in which he shows that he is reducing it, but as his main reliance seems to be the old one of a sinking fund, consisting of the public squares and buildings (the sale of which, it may be observed, would be a rather novel experiment in municipal government), we cannot say that the workingman has any strong grounds for hope.

This condition of affairs is favorable only to one thing, and that is an independent movement to secure good candidates for the various local and State offices to be filled. A little active pressure would force on either party the nomination of such men, and would give us some chance of securing from the Legislature proper action on the constitutional amendments proposed by Governor Tilden's commission. These were passed by the last Legislature, but they cannot be voted upon by the people until they have been favorably acted upon by two successive legislatures. At present the only chance of their passage this year seems to be the election of a Republican legislature, as the Democrats have not only shown no interest in the matter, but have voted almost unanimously at every stage to prevent their going to the people at all. The importance of their passage now can hardly be exaggerated. Their incorporation into the constitution would put an end, at least in a great measure, to the "boss" government under which we have suffered so long, and would give the tax-payers at least a veto on the maladministration of the public funds which they themselves contribute. The reforms which they would introduce are reforms longed for by nearly everybody in this city who has any property, and is not subject to the loathsome disease which causes professional politicians to see in every attempt to make government pure and its burdens easy an "aristocratic" tendency; and yet they are reforms which, unless some organized effort is made to pass them, will almost certainly be killed by the sinister interests which dictate a continuance of our present wasteful and wicked system of communism.

We failed last week to find room for an account of the important proceedings of the National Board of Trade, which began its annual meeting at Milwaukee on the 21st of August. The first subject brought up was the navigation laws, and a series of resolutions offered by a Boston delegate called for their repeal, and for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registration. The debate upon this question, which occupied nearly the whole of one day, showed that the navigation laws, originally enacted in the interest of seaman-ship, have ceased to have any value or importance in that regard, and are now maintained wholly for the protection of shipbuilders, serving as a prohibitory tariff for that interest. A Philadelphia delegate asserted that iron ships could be built more cheaply on the Delaware than on the Clyde (which we believe is the fact), and urged that as a reason for continuing the prohibition. The Board considered it a better reason for dropping it, for although the Protectionists did most of the talking they mustered only nine votes against twenty-six. An amendment subjecting imported ships to a tariff duty was voted down. A resolution was then passed calling for a thorough revision of the tariff, without indicating any particular policy to be followed, except that *ad-valorem* duties should be changed to specific as far as possible. Reciprocity with Canada was debated at considerable length, having been introduced by an able report from a committee appointed last year. Resolutions were passed by 26 to 6 requesting the President to institute negotiations for a new treaty of reciprocal trade between the two countries. The unanimity of the meeting on the subject of specie resumption was very gratifying, and a resolution was passed, with only three or four negative votes, recommending the funding of greenbacks in 4-per-cent. forty-year bonds, at the rate of \$10,000,000 per month, as auxiliary to the existing Resumption Act. A resolution offered by a Chicago delegate, looking to the continued circulation of greenbacks after resumption, was rejected by 6 to 27. The last day was given to the silver question, which came up in two sets of resolutions, one from the Chicago Board of Trade, recommending Congress to take steps for inviting an international convention to establish, if possible, the unrestricted coinage of silver and gold on a common ratio; and the other from the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, calling for the recoinage of the old silver dollar by the United States and the making of it legal tender to any amount. The Chicago resolution was adopted with only one dissenting vote. The Cincinnati resolution was first amended by limiting the recoinage of the silver dollar to fifty mil-

liens and striking out the words "legal tender to any amount," after which it failed to receive the requisite two-thirds majority, the vote standing 16 to 11.

The advance to 3 per cent. in the Bank of England discount rate was sufficient to arrest temporarily the declining tendency of the rates for sterling bills and the price of gold in New York. Exchange advanced above the point at which gold can be profitably imported from London, for the reason that bills were wanted to pay for U. S. bonds which could be bought in London and sold here at a profit. Gold advanced because of the advance in sterling bills. Before the week closed U. S. bonds had so advanced in London as to check this movement, and accordingly sterling bills fell, and the price of gold gave a lurch to 163½—the lowest price since May 20, 1862, when it sold at 163½. Without doubt the country has this year the largest crops ever produced. Not over-sanguine estimates put the cotton crop at nearly if not quite 5,000,000 bales. It is equally clear that there will be an excellent foreign market for our food products. That cotton will be wanted, although perhaps at a low price, is evident. It follows, therefore, that exclusive of the movement of securities, the condition of trade with Europe ought to be such as to enable the Treasury to get all the gold it needs for resumption purposes and several months before the day named by the law of January, 1875, for resumption. That the large crops, with the assurance of a market for the exportable surplus, will have a quickening effect on general trade and will go far to help the country out of the slough of despond, is becoming apparent to all. From every side come reports of improving trade. The tonnage of the transportation companies is increasing, there is a larger demand for money, and rates of interest are higher. At the close of the week the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar was worth in gold \$0.9673; at the same time the "dollar of the fathers" (412½ grains silver) would have had a gold value of \$0.9126.

The Russians have maintained their positions at the Shipka Pass, at least the most important portion of them, which includes "Fort Nicholas," and have been little molested there throughout the week. A lull began on Monday, August 27, and since that date only occasional cannonading has been reported, neither party feeling strong enough to resume the bloody assaults of the preceding days. The Turks continue to hold heights flanking the road, and on one of them a strongly-fortified redoubt; but a portion of their troops seems to have been withdrawn, possibly towards minor passes, both east and west of Shipka, through which small fragments of Suleiman Pasha's command are reported to have forced their way. A part of the Russian reinforcements is correspondingly stated to have been sent back. This may have been the consequence of the new aggressive movement by which the Turks, on August 30, followed up their late success at Aghasar. On the morning of that day two Turkish divisions of Mehmed Ali's army advanced simultaneously from Adaköi, near Rasgrad, and from a position near Aghasar, the one moving by Sadana on Karahassan, near the east bank of the Kara Lom, and the other on Haidarköi, further up that river, on its west bank. The Russians for a time contested the advance of the first column behind Sadana, and very stubbornly defended their position at Karahassan, though vastly inferior in numbers, but toward evening were compelled to retire in a westerly direction, Haidarköi being also forced by the assailants. Though the losses were severe on both sides, the successive abandonment of important positions by the forces of the Crown Prince seems to have been keenly felt at the Russian headquarters. No Russian official bulletin of the affair has yet been received.

On the following day, Friday, the 31st, the Turks also assumed the offensive in front of Plevna. Osman Pasha, with the object, as he says, of making a reconnaissance in force, attacked the Russian entrenched positions at and near the village of Pelishat, about seven miles southeast of the town. A hard-fought contest ensued, the result of which both sides officially claim as a victory, though neither seems to have achieved a decisive success. The forces engaged, in the aggregate about forty or fifty thousand, and the losses sustained

appear to have been nearly equal, the Russians officially admitting a loss of one thousand and fifty killed and wounded. The Russians ultimately kept the field, but made no captures, the Turks carrying off their wounded. More decisive operations are expected in the same quarter, and Prince Charles of Rumania, now commanding Russian as well as Rumanian troops south of the Danube, between the Vid and the Isker, has been assigned an active part in the movements contemplated by the invaders. These are said to be maturing, or to have been begun, on a vast field, and the capture of Lovatz, on Sept. 3, by assault, which is officially announced from the Russian headquarters, though without details, may be the opening of a general conflict. The reinforcements received on the Danube from Russia are stated still to be scanty. The armies in Asia are evidently still more in need of reinforcements, as the Russians continue to announce operations in their own portion of Armenia, where the Erivan column, which was to succeed Tergukassoff, is reported to have repulsed, near Igdyr, two distinct attacks by the Turks. The central army between Alexandropol and Karsoo, seems to be executing a change of base dictated by prudence rather than by boldness. Sukhum Kaleh has been evacuated by the Turks.

The death, just announced, of ex-President Thiers, a statesman who, whatever his sins of commission or omission may have been in years long gone by, has certainly shown himself an incomparably more successful political leader than all the Frenchmen with whom he ever co-operated or contended—a host including Guizot, Mole, Berryer, Tocqueville, Montalembert, Lamartine, Cavaignac, Louis-Blanc, Victor Hugo, Jules Favre, and, we may add, Napoleon III.—would have been an event in French history at any time, but it is an event of melancholy interest, perhaps of calamitous import, occurring, as it does, at so critical a moment in the development of the French Republic. The rash *coup* executed by Marshal MacMahon on May 16, when Jules Simon was dismissed with his Cabinet, followed by the formation of "the combat ministry" of the Duc de Broglie and the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, the necessary assent to which by the Senate was extorted from the perplexities of a timid majority, has been productive of a struggle preliminary to the election for a new Chamber apparently surpassing in intensity and acrimony all the election contests of France since the time of Polignac, against whom, nearly sixty years ago, Thiers began his political activity. The present efforts for the preservation of the Republic were begun under the banner of the octogenarian statesman, under whose auspices it was consolidated, his name being substituted for that of the virtual leader, Gambetta, in order to win the support of the moderate and prudent adherents of the present institutions, to whom Thiers appeared the embodiment of consummate and long disillusioned political wisdom, while Gambetta, with all his real or assumed love of legality and order, has never ceased to speak the language of passionate republican partisanship. To the constantly-repeated, piteous cry of MacMahon: "Choose between me and Gambetta, between conservatism and radicalism," the answer has been: "Our guide is Thiers, the conservative defender of the conservative Republic, which you and your Ultramontane advisers are unconsciously or treacherously bent on overthrowing by a revolution." And such is the declivity down which the Marshal has been advancing with his anti-republican allies, that, whatever his intentions may have been or may still be, the worst *dénouement* by force may justly be apprehended. The means resorted to in working for the elections by his Legitimist, Bonapartist, and Orleanist supporters surpass in petty meanness, and sometimes in the audacious use of power, almost anything attempted on similar occasions by Morny, Persigny, or Maggan. The Republicans have still the advantage of harmony among themselves, having united on the re-election of the 363 anti-Government members of the dissolved Chamber, and amicably concerted the remaining candidatures, while their opponents of the three monarchical camps are everywhere wrangling in advance for the spoils; but the former have now lost their most trusted guide, their shield.

REPUDIATION AND RESUMPTION.

THE "record" of the United States during the past six months on the subject of repudiation cannot be said to be an enviable one; but it is instructive. It has embraced four important States, representing both political parties and widely-separated geographical sections of the country. In all these the cause of repudiation has either been thus far completely triumphant or has been so successful as to put its opponents entirely on the defensive. In Virginia there is no doubt that the debt is a heavy one. At the close of the war it was \$11,000,000; but in 1866 the auditor of the State reported that the interest on this sum—in round numbers, \$2,400,000—could be "met and paid promptly as it falls due." In 1870-1, after the State had passed through the reconstruction period, the debt had increased only some \$1,000,000, amounting now to \$45,000,000, and the legislature, to make sure of being able to meet their engagements, "funded" it, leaving the total sum \$30,000,000. The complaint being made that this funding scheme was too advantageous to the creditor, inasmuch as it made the coupons of the new bonds receivable for all dues to the State, the next legislature repealed this provision, and, as the courts failed to sustain the repealing act, imposed a tax of a half per cent. on the funded bonds. In 1874-5 these measures had reduced the interest account from \$2,400,000 to \$1,417,000; but the taste for repudiation, or "adjustment," as it is called in Virginia, had set in and was growing, so that to-day, after several years of cheating, the question is still a prominent one in the politics of the State, and it was only after a vigorous and excited canvass that the nomination of an open repudiator for governor was prevented. His successful opponent is now obliged to treat the subject with great caution, and there is every prospect that in the end "readjustment" will carry the day.

In Tennessee the course of events has been somewhat different. At the close of the war the debt was about \$43,000,000, but this was reduced by sales of railroad property to about \$23,000,000. The interest on this was felt by the Tennesseans to be more than they could pay, and attempts have been recently made to compromise. In March last an arbitration committee of bank presidents held a joint meeting with a committee of five from the Tennessee legislature at the American Exchange Bank in this city, and a conference took place. The extreme caution of the Tennessee representatives led them at the outset to announce that they had no power to make any terms, but merely to report what was proposed to the State. A long discussion ensued, in which it appeared (and this is true also of Virginia) that the repudiationists regarded the abolition of slavery as destroying so much taxable property, but wholly ignored the continued existence of the negroes and their production as making part of the resources of the State. After a prolonged discussion the committee (which, it should be noticed, was entirely disinterested in the matter) reported that after adding the arrears of interest, and interest to accrue to July 1, 1877, the aggregate amount of the State debt should be readjusted by the issue of new bonds at the rate of 60 per cent. of the whole amount, the new bonds to bear interest at the rate of six per cent. To this proposed compromise the State has paid no sort of attention, and the sentiment in favor of total repudiation is reported to be growing.

In Georgia the facts are, again, somewhat different. Here the State at the end of the war fell into the hands of Bullock and his confederates, who embarked it upon a course of extravagant internal improvements, in the course of which many frauds were no doubt committed. There is no doubt, either, that the State derived great benefit from many of the railroads that were built. When the carpet-baggers were turned out, the "Conservatives" ordered a legislative investigation, which was conducted very much as such investigations usually are—that is, with a good deal of party feeling and a determination to rule out all claims that could be ruled out. Toombs, we believe, assisted in it, and witnesses were bullied and browbeaten, and every device was resorted to to cut down the total amount of debt to be assumed. The committee reported some \$6,000,000 bonds invalid, and they were

formally repudiated by the legislature on the ground of fraud in their issue. The legislative report was then put in the form of a constitutional amendment wiping out the bonds altogether, and now the repudiating clause has been finally incorporated into the new constitution just drawn up. The bondholders in this case claim, not payment in full, but a judicial investigation and decision of their rights. They offered, in the late constitutional convention, to submit their claims to the Supreme Court of the State, but the proposition was voted down by 166 to 15.

In Minnesota the State repudiated a railroad debt of about 20 years standing. As in the case of Georgia, it was done by constitutional amendment; and as in the case of Georgia, there was no excuse for it. After twenty years of agitation, denunciation, and negotiation, the State officials agreed to compromise at 50 cents on the dollar. The measure, however, had to be ratified by a popular vote, and the people, on being consulted, voted against it.

We wish we could satisfy ourselves, as the Democrats do, that Minnesota repudiation is due to "radical rascality," or, as the Republicans do, that Southern repudiation is due to Democratic wickedness; but we cannot. Such acts as these States have been committing, and threatening to commit, bring disgrace not upon either party but upon the whole country, and establish a precedent of the most dangerous character. It is a lamentable fact that State repudiation cannot be stopped, for a State cannot be sued; and hence the moral is very obvious that the constitutional power of States to contract debts should be curtailed in every possible way. From most of the new constitutions adopted within the past twenty or thirty years this lesson, which the history of the Pennsylvania and Mississippi repudiations of the last generation first taught, seems to be gradually making itself felt. There is another moral, however, which persons who discuss the movements of public opinion in financial matters should not fail to draw. The States we have enumerated (and we might have included North Carolina, but the facts are not fully accessible), though one is Northern and the rest Southern, one Republican and the rest Democratic, all resemble each other in one point, and that is the character of the population. They are all agricultural communities, in which the diversification of industry has made but little progress, in which the standard of education is not high, and which are peopled by the "bone and sinew" of the country. One may be taken as a representative Western State, and the others as representative Southern States. The facts about their management of their debts show that in all of them alike the sentiment that we know as "commercial honor" has little or no existence. That is to say, they will not pay their debts unless they are compelled to do so. Now, it is in these same parts of the country that we should expect to find most unsoundness on the currency and silver questions, and such is indeed the fact. It is absurd to suppose that a Western farmer or a Southern planter who has discovered and applied the simple method of paying local debts by repudiating them should be any great stickler for the punctual payment of the national debt, or for resumption, or for the adoption of a single standard when two will make debt-paying easier. In communities of this kind, where there is little but land, and where the loss of credit consequently does not immediately paralyze industry, the escape of taxation by such means seems an obvious remedy. We may be sure that the longer the questions connected with the national debt and with the currency are allowed to remain open, the more impossible it will be to prevent the dishonest arguments and shameless practices of the Western and Southern repudiators from making their appearance in new and more alarming shapes at Washington.

EFFECT ON THE NEGRO OF A DIVIDED WHITE VOTE.

THE division of sentiment among the "Conservatives" (that is, the white men) in Virginia over the public debt has caused more or less chuckling among Republicans at the North, because they think they see in it an indication that the state of things in which the negro will exert a positive influence of his own in Southern

politics is now at hand. Since the war, there has been but one political problem present to the minds of white voters in every Southern State, and that is how to keep the government out of the negro's hands without wounding the susceptibilities of his friends at the North; and the fear of the negro as a legislator at the present moment keeps the whites of every State banded together in a solid mass, on which no question of national politics seems to have the slightest power of disintegration. The union of sentiment on this one topic has, of course, other effects than the production of a united white vote. It leads to the exertion, as a duty of the highest order to the State, of a constant and severe pressure on the negro, through his employers and white neighbors, to induce him to vote the Conservative ticket; and this pressure consists, of course, mainly of threats of social disfavor or disadvantage. He is promised nothing but a quiet life and steady employment. No attempt is made to dazzle him with the prospect of offices, or flatter him with arguments on public questions. He is simply told that he must either abstain from voting or vote with the Conservatives, and that under no circumstances must he vote with the Radicals; and as the Radicals have nothing whatever to offer him now, he finds little difficulty in abandoning them. The consequence is that there is only one party at the South, and the negro ballots are virtually cast by white hands and go to swell the Southern basis of representation and Democratic majorities, or rather the Democratic totals, for the minorities have either disappeared or are disappearing.

Of course this is a very disappointing state of things to those who looked forward to seeing the negroes form a solid political organization at the South, stretching out its hand to the Republican party at the North, and controlling at least some States, and making a respectable contribution to the Republican side of the House and Senate. Since the failure of the attempt to uphold the negro as a politician with "troops" and custom-houses, such a consummation has become almost hopeless. At all events a change which will give the negro a chance of exercising a free choice in casting his vote, and will give candidates a reason for conciliating or courting him, is now expected by his political friends at the North only as the result of a division among the whites; and the split of the whites into two parties is, perhaps, what many of the friends of the President's "policy" are eagerly looking for as a substitute for carpet-bag governments upheld by military force.

If such a split should occur, no matter on what question of State or of Federal politics, it would undoubtedly be a sign that the South had made one more step in the process of recovery, for the melancholy truth is that a total lack of interest in and familiarity with the leading political topics of the day—taxation, the currency, the tariff, the reform of the civil service, the railroads, the labor problem—is one of the most painful features of the Southern malady. The old men do not care about these things, and the young do not know about them. But to those who consider a moment what the history of the last twenty years at the South has been, there is nothing wonderful in this state of things. The war found the whole mind of the South absorbed in the question of the rightfulness of slavery and the lawfulness of secession. During the four years of war the whole hearts and souls of the people went into the struggle, and their one subject was strategy and soldiers their only heroes. Since the war they have been occupied with almost equal intensity with the problem of keeping the negro out of the government without exasperating the North, and though last, not least, with the struggle for subsistence. The consequence is that at this moment, as all recent Northern visitors to the South can testify, it is rare to meet with a Southern man who talks upon any question of national politics, except the President's "policy," with much interest or with the firmness of tone which comes from thought and conviction. He will converse on them with a Northern man, it is true, pleasantly and intelligently, but somewhat with the interrogative air of a foreigner who likes to hear what you think about your own politics, but to whom they have simply a speculative attraction. This, it must be remembered, too, occurs in a region which was once given up to the widest and most varied political discussion, and in which opinions on all subjects

were apt to be very vehemently and confidently expressed. But the painful truth is that a Southern man must to-day have reached middle life to remember much of the healthy public life of a constitutional state. If under forty, the political education he has received from events is not unlike that of a Frenchman—the education of great political convulsions, of fierce and implacable controversy over the very foundations of society, of tremendous and desolating wars, and of that bitterest of all experiences—fallen and powerless pride.

In what way a healthful remedy will come it would be hard as yet to say. Much will depend—more, indeed, than on anything else—on the social progress of the negro, for it is a hideous mistake to suppose that anything but social progress can give him political value. But how he will turn out either socially or politically is something on which nobody's opinion is as yet worth much. Thus far he has disappointed both his friends and his enemies. The old Southerners who used to expound his character so confidently in the slavery controversy, have either passed away or been reduced to mournful silence. The Northern anti-slavery men who thought he had only to be released from bondage to take his place without hitch or inconvenience among the foremost races of the world, have been full as woefully mistaken. He is still a very puzzling problem, though a much more hopeful one than he was ten years ago. But his initiation into civilized life has been, as we have often said in these columns, one of the greatest misfortunes which has ever befallen a downtrodden race. Of all the crimes which have been committed against him, we think one of the most heinous was committed by our Government, when at the very threshold of freedom it committed his education to thieving carpet-baggers and rascally office-holders, and allowed him to suppose when he got his first glimpse of the *arcana imperii* that government was the game of thimble-riggers and "confidence men." We are sorry to say that it looks as if a division among the whites, far from helping him, would exert on him an influence almost as demoralizing in the long run as that of the carpet-baggers, for if this division were deep enough to cause him to be courted at all it would cause the two parties to bid against each other for his vote. When we consider what his political education and material condition are, and are likely to be for many years to come, we have no difficulty in guessing at the nature of the temptations which would be offered him. Even if we had had no experience to guide us in such a calculation a flood of light would have been thrown on the subject, and has been thrown on it during the last two months, by the course of the two parties at the North with regard to the late strikes and riots. When we find that attacks of the most outrageous kind on property, based on the most dangerous delusions, whose practical working has been abundantly exemplified in other countries, have simply set both Republicans and Democrats to work in their platforms and speeches to outdo each other in fanning the flame of discontent, and raising among poor white men the most absurd expectations from Government interference, we may readily conjecture what the nature of the appeals addressed by rival Southern politicians to the negro voters would be. We may be sure of one thing—that their result would be to drag him down to a lower level of ignorance and cupidity. They would, like their Northern confreres, seek out carefully what was wildest, most irrational, and most debased in his passions and ideals, and that they would foster and play upon, and thus, we venture to say, treat us to a species of demagoguery for which political history has yet supplied no parallel, and the coarseness of which would make even Raoul Rigault smile if he could rise from his grave.

THE INDIAN SYSTEMS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

IT was recently reported that the President, being much impressed by the statements of a gentleman representing the Dominion of Canada (in regard to the Sitting-Bull imbroglio) in praise of the Indian system of that Government, had resolved to adopt it for our own. Doubtless the truth is that President Hayes listened to the patriotic discourse of his official visitor with his usual blandness, but without jumping to the hasty conclusion of the daily press, which went so far as to enumerate

the particular in which we were to imitate the northern policy. The three points generally mentioned—that the Indian system of the Dominion is not managed by officials connected with the political administration, is superintended by army officers, and does not include a plan of reservations—all happen to be absolutely mistaken. It may, therefore, be useful to consider in what respects the Canadian policy, past and present, is essentially distinguished from that of the United States, and what are the real causes of the very diverse results shown in the conduct and condition of the Indians in the two countries.

The official form of the Indian administration of the Dominion is obviously copied from ours, being a branch of their Department of the Interior, with a Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs corresponding to our Commissioner, and several territorial superintendencies, each embracing local agencies; special commissions being also, as with us, appointed on important occasions. The military arm is nowhere apparent in the comprehensive annual report of the past year, which should dispel any popular delusion that the success of the Indian policy of our neighbors is due to the employment of army officers. On the other hand, the report of the United States Commissioner for the corresponding period shows that the officers of our army were used in matters of supervision and inspection, wholly without reference to hostilities, in a manner unknown in Canada. A little study of the parliamentary blue-books will correct another general but erroneous impression that the Indian problem beyond our frontier is thoroughly solved and the outlook entirely assured. On the contrary, just the same difficulties and complaints crop out there as here—to wit, disputes about boundaries; tribal discontent with past treaty-bargains and compromises to patch up misunderstandings; threats and fears of insurrection, with official warnings and appeals and urgent recommendations of a new "policy," as if that existing were confessedly unsatisfactory. The Minister of the Interior in 1876 characterizes the Indian legislation of the Dominion in almost the exact words used by President Grant in his first message (December, 1869) to explain his policy then instituted, and proceeds with statements of new treaties made and old ones supplemented, gratuities and annuities given and needed, reservations established and changed, the stopping by Assiniboins of telegraph-construction and road-making after the manner of our Dakotas in the Black Hills, contests between settlers and native claimants of Cowichan Valley—recalling Joseph and his dear Wallowa—and the like familiar topics. With proper alteration of some titles and nouns of number and magnitude, page after page of the Canadian report on Indian affairs could be interchanged with those from our Commissioner's volume without the reader of either noticing any break in the continuity.

It is nevertheless a fact that in the Dominion the difficulties are somehow smoothed away with sufficient promptness to avert actual collision, and that the British Government in America has not since our separation from it expended treasure in Indian wars, lost its subjects by massacre, or mourned desolated settlements. As the general form and professed objects of the two systems are almost identical, can the explanation of the discordant results be found in any details of their execution?

Without at this time entering upon the serious past blundering and remaining imperfections of our own Indian service, we may notice the fact that the Canadian has two marked administrative advantages. First, the Minister of the Interior is actually the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and directly responsible for them as the most considerable, if not the most important, part of his official duties. He makes the report in his own name, his deputy bearing much the same relation to him in fact, though not in form, as our Commissioner's chief clerk does to his immediate superior; and the result is that some of the work is actually done by a Cabinet officer and not all by a chain of subordinates. To allow of this the Minister is not, in the arrangement of governmental functions, burdened with the pension, patent, and educational branches, which, being so disposed with us in addition to the Indian and land offices, are apt to render our Secretary of the Interior a Jack-of-all-trades and master of none, affording him some excuse for transmitting the reports of his several chiefs of bureaux with mere perfunctory notices instead of an intelligent and original presentation of facts and plans.

The second marked characteristic is that, while the higher officers change with party politics, the minor superintendents and agents in the Dominion hold their places for life or good behavior, with the obvious benefits, in matters requiring special skill and experience, produced by a civil service well established on a correct principle of selection, which with us has only recently been attempted. A third notable fact of greater

import than either of those just mentioned—though not properly a part of the formal Indian system, but rather relating to the general administration of government—is that the plighted faith of Great Britain and its present American colonies, once made to the Indian tribes, has never been violated. The red men can trust the Crown and the promise of any of its authorized agents, knowing that whatever is seriously wrong will be amended without insufferable delay, and are therefore as loyal as any other British subjects.

It is not true that there has ever been on the part of the Government or people of the United States any intention to be unjust or oppressive to their aboriginal wards, but Congress has sometimes been inconsistent and dilatory, resorting to temporary expedients and diluted equity. An elective legislature has temptations to postpone the claims of those within its power who have neither votes nor a lobby in their special interest, for constituents who have both; of this the late non-action upon Army as well as Indian appropriations is sufficient proof. Moreover, the promptness and decision so essential in the management of uncivilized people were hardly possible under the divided responsibilities and weak central powers which have been lauded in our Constitution as the sources of national greatness and prosperity. We need not, however, accuse our republican form of government as being the sole or the chief reason why our embarrassments with the Indians have far exceeded those of our monarchical rival, whose Government, indeed, has of late approached in many points the freedom and complication of our own. The physical, historical, and social circumstances are and have been so wholly different as fully to explain, without loss of patriotic pride, why the same problem, until lately so easy to the Canadian, has long been so much harder for us.

The superficial area of the British possessions is three and a half millions of square miles, being nearly equal to the whole of Europe and considerably greater than that of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, which, from its recent acquisition, need not be regarded in a historical summary. The settlements of any consequence are still confined to a border on the gulf and river of St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, a narrow strip on the Red River, and another on the Pacific coast. The part unsettled is about as large as the whole of the United States, the Hudson's Bay and Northwest territories by themselves containing nearly two and a half millions of square miles and only 2,500 white inhabitants, who are at the various posts of the Hudson's Bay Company or employed by it, and 5,000 half-breeds also so employed. The larger part of this vast region is still the property of the general Government, obtained by purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869, and may consequently be considered for all practical purposes as a great free territory still open (besides the numerous reservations specially set aside in other provinces) to the Indians for hunting and fishing. The facilities for fishing in the numberless lakes and rivers are alone sufficient to subsist all the Indians in the Dominion. These number but 51,910 souls, and less than one-third of them are in, or inconveniently near to, the settled districts. The whole population of British America is only four and a half millions, with which we must compare the United States and its forty millions, about three hundred thousand Indians still remaining, and practically no land left open. Wherever there is a tract worth the homesteading, pre-emption, or purchase, there is the white settler or explorer, and the last of the game is vanishing for ever. The rush of settlement has been so eager that the very ground on which it was necessary to erect the buildings for one of the Indian agencies in California was lately rented by the Government from citizen owners.

Here, then, is the contrast—Canada, with her unsettled tract, equal to the whole United States, on which to provide for less than one-third the number of Indians inhabiting this country, which has no land invaded by squatters. All this has naturally resulted from the difference in the civilization, and its advance, of the two countries. The history of British America, so far as regards the Indian tribes, has mainly, until of late years, been that of the Hudson's Bay Company. The one object of that company was to procure a vast quantity of furs at a low rate, and therefore settlement was repressed. In this design the laws of climate assisted, since the country is good for hunting but bad for agriculture. The Indians were not only undisturbed but stimulated to continue in their old life and habits, because it was cheaper to trade arms, beads, and trinkets with them for the desired peltries than to drive them off and hire white hunters. Of course the company treated them well, from selfish motives if from no other, and, with its efficient semi-military organization of commissioners, factors, and traders, ruled wisely at its one hundred and twenty posts. Of course, also, the tribes were satisfied, not being asked to sacrifice any of their habits, not being crowded by any aggres-

sive inroad of civilization, and obtaining from its amiable representatives all of its products which they valued.

The most serious Indian wars of our last decade—those with the Modocs, Sioux, and Nez-Pere's—arose from the confusion occasioned by gold discoveries and the sudden influx upon and around tribal lands of lawless miners in bodies not repressible by a feeble national Government, when no statesmanlike provision had been made in advance for such emergencies. Similar unpremeditated injustice with the same sad results had occurred before in California and Oregon after the gold excitement of 1849. The only serious fever of that kind which ever disturbed the composure of Canada (that in the Fraser River district), short-lived and limited as it was, severely tried its authorities. The Minister's report of 1876 is very melancholy in respect to that region, and he explains the discontent and threats of its Indians by the pregnant sentence, "They for the first time feel practically the inconvenience of being hemmed in by white settlers"—i.e., the settlers left from the sudden immigration. If this "hemming-in" had been more common, and agriculture, mining, and manufacture had been more generally possible, there would perhaps have been also in the Dominion some victims of the struggle for existence.

In the early settlement of the parts of Canada now most populous, where the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company was less felt, the colonies enjoyed a singular good-fortune in the character of their pioneers long before any modern "Indian policy" was discussed. The French immigrants from the first formed a peculiar, and in one sense happy, intimacy of relation with the natives. Their plastic and easy disposition met the red warriors more than half way, and their imitation of the new-found customs was carried even to an excess of fraternization. Count Frontenac set the example, blithely adorned himself with paints and plumes in the latest American mode, and danced and sang to the delight of his wild allies. Hundreds of the debonair adventurers took kindly to the forest and to dusky wives, never returning to civilization, and the neighboring tribes soon became infused with Gallic blood; Charlevoix sadly wrote that the savages did not become French, but the French became savages. But however undesirable in other respects, the assimilation at once furnished a wide belt of safety around the infant settlements, and afterwards, as the meagre civilization crept on with no disturbing haste, secured easy treaties and genial intercourse. This never has or could have taken place where the main body of the early settlers were English, German, or Irish.

If, without any improvement in our statesmanship, our civilization had been lowered or retarded and our climate rendered inhospitable, we should have had no worse Indian troubles than Canada, but we should not now hold our prominent place among the nations. So, also, in any present imitation of all the Canadian expedients, we must set back the dial of time more than a century, retain only the littoral settlements of the old thirteen colonies, bend down the isothermal lines some twenty degrees, organize a *crédit mobilier* fur company to take charge of half a continent, and import a few thousand gay Frenchmen to dance and make love on the debatable border. In short, while our statecraft is by no means so perfect that it cannot learn something from our friendly rival, we cannot safely copy any system that has been successful elsewhere, unless it be applicable to our conditions and environment.

THE LATE ERUPTION OF COTOPAXI.

QUITO, July 4, 1877.

HISTORY has recorded ten great eruptions of Cotopaxi—I might say with more truth that they have graven themselves in characters of fire and blood in the sad annals which they fill with misery and ruin, with desolation, mourning, and tears. The first two eruptions were of no great consequence. Of the third we have detailed accounts in the 'Historical Narrative' of Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. They tell of its having submerged the spacious valley from Callo to Latacunga, filling it with turbid waves, in which great numbers perished. The eruption that followed in the succeeding year, the fourth, was still more disastrous. According to the Jesuit Father Velasco, in his history of Quito, it carried ruin to a distance of 600 miles. Humboldt relates, in his 'Cosmos,' that in Honda, 436 miles from the volcano, explosions like the sound of cannon were heard. In the seventh eruption, April 4, 1768, the shocks and the rain of earth extended from Popayan to Guayaquil—distance 456 miles. Quito and other towns were plunged in complete darkness from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M., the horror of the situation being aggravated by frequent earthquakes and by the frightful roaring of the infuriated giant. The head of the Government sent to the Court of Madrid a

curious report on this catastrophe, beginning: "The President of Quito informs your Majesty of what took place on the 4th day of April, in consequence of the *bursting* of the great volcano and mountain of Cotopaxi, situated in the bosom of Tacunga, 13 leagues from this city."

Villavicencio, in his 'Geography of Ecuador,' calls the eruption of 1768 the eighth, whereas the historian Cevallos denominates it the seventh. Villavicencio adds that it was reputed the most horrible of all. Cotopaxi was not responsible for the great earthquake of 1797, which destroyed Riobamba, Latacunga, and Ambato, and cost so many lives. From 30,000 to 40,000 perished by it. Humboldt ascribes that cataclysm to another volcano, the Galera, and says it was one of the most terrific phenomena in the physical history of our globe. The same thing happened with the Galera as with Vesuvius at the time of the earthquake at Lisbon. Both volcanoes ceased to pour out the clouds of steam and smoke which they had thrown off before the convulsion. The Galera, nevertheless, is 92 miles from Quito, which was the nearest point affected. Humboldt mentions another phenomenon. The centre of the explosion was Riobamba, and yet at Latacunga and Ambato, the places nearest to it, the great subterranean noise was not heard. At Quito it sounded only eighteen or twenty minutes after the catastrophe. Walls changed places without falling. Crops made a sort of *class-crois*, one assuming the position of the other. Edifices of stone and mortar flew through the air, some of them falling upside down on their roofs, and *vice versa*, while others were carried off uninjured, with the lands and planted fields around them, to distant places, thus giving rise to disputes which came before the courts. Roads changed their position and appearance; a lake burst into flames (Lake Quiroto), mountains were levelled, and valleys filled up. In short, the day of judgment seemed to have dawned for the wretched inhabitants of those fated districts.

According to the German traveller, Dr. W. Reiss, no recent eruption of Cotopaxi has ejected more lava than that of 1854, the eighth. The ninth took place in 1855, but this was a mere suggestion of power on the part of the volcano—a grand pyrotechnic show—for although it poured out torrents of fire, water, and stones in a state of incandescence, no great harm resulted from the display. There occurred another eruption in 1856, the only beneficial one, and it is a matter of regret that similar eruptions have not followed it. It caused the mighty gold-bearing Napo, a tributary of the Amazon, to overflow its banks, leaving them covered with grains and sands of gold. In vain has the population sighed for a repetition of this phenomenon. For my part, I do not think this eruption deserves to be classed among the eruptions properly so called. Since then Cotopaxi has maintained a comparative repose, although it does not cease to give evidence of a volcanic activity which makes of it a Proteus for the variety of shapes it assumes, and a chameleon for the diversity of colors in which it robes itself. Nothing is more sublime at all times, and on occasion more appalling, than the truncated cone of this snow-capped mountain. It was a view on one of its flanks that inspired your great artist, Church, when he painted his celebrated picture, "The Heart of the Andes." The crater of Cotopaxi is 500 feet in depth. It is not rare to see a pillar of fire rise from this abyss and lose itself in the blue vault of heaven, as if the colossus would fain be a light-house to the mariners of both oceans, but only consented to illuminate their path with the tokens of his ire.

The last eruption of Cotopaxi, which is the tenth according to my computation, took place on the 26th of June last. The day before the city of Quito was placed under an interdiction in consequence of a disagreement between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, which it is not to the purpose to relate here. It was the first time that the population of Quito had been subjected to such a penalty, and one can imagine the consternation that reigned among them on seeing their churches closed, all divine service suspended, even the august ceremonies for the interment of the dead. Shortly after a rain of earth and other phenomena which herald an eruption began to appear, and, as Dr. Wolf says, these signs are always more reliable than those that precede an earthquake. In fact, the eruption took place on the 26th, with every circumstance that could increase its horror—utter darkness in the broad day, thunder and lightning, fearful explosions that made the earth tremble, subterranean noises and wild gusts of wind accompanied by a rain of ashes. An eye-witness told me that the volcano poured out a cataract ten times the bulk of Niagara, which carried all before it in its headlong course, and submerged the whole surrounding country. The torrent divided itself in two opposite directions, as if to give greater scope to its devastation and to make the confusion still more dire. One branch took a southerly course towards the city of Latacunga, situated twelve miles

from Cotopaxi (Villavieja makes the distance double in his "Geography of Ecuador," but this is an error). On its way the torrent converted the plain of Callo into an immense lake, covering up the hill of the same name, which is thought to be the work of man, although Reiss discards this opinion and regards the eminence merely as the result of some internal convulsion of nature such as produced the "Panecillo of Quito." There is but faint hope that the ruins of the palace of the Incas, described by Humboldt and all other travellers through the central valley of the Equatorial Andes, have escaped the ravages of the flood. In the vicinity of Latacunga the furious current tore up from its very foundations the cotton-factory of Don José Villagomez, whose value was estimated at \$500,000; crops, cattle, buildings were swept away; the massive bridges of Cutuche and Pansalvo were destroyed, as well as a part of the fine carriage-road (scarce equalled even in Europe) which connects Quito with the towns in the south of the Republic. On hearing the report of the subterranean explosion and seeing the infuriated waters approach, the distracted and appalled inhabitants of Latacunga thought themselves doomed to inevitable destruction. But the catastrophe was averted—the onward-rolling torrent met the beds of three rivers, and, pouring itself into these channels, rescued the city from a situation of the most imminent peril.

The branch that headed towards the south of Cotopaxi devastated the prosperous and enchanting valley of Chillo, and in particular the estate of the Señores Aguirre, noted for having been the residence of Humboldt. There, too, as in Latacunga, arose the buildings of a thriving factory which, only the year before, had been destroyed by fire, and had just been repaired at great expense. The torrent rooted it from the ground, and bore it away in a thousand fragments—harbingers and tokens of woe to the provinces of Imbabura and Esmeraldas, which they passed in their course towards the Pacific Ocean. It is asserted that a mill of Don Manuel Palacios floated on the water like a ship at sea until shattered by the current. The loss in the valley of Chillo alone is estimated at over two millions of dollars, and the loss in other sections is equally great. It is likewise calculated that the number of the dead exceeds one thousand.

A third cataract took an easterly direction, destroying the bridge of Patate, and doing grievous injury to the estates in that neighborhood, of which the most important is celebrated for its fine wine, well known as "Vino de Patate," made by Don Vicente Alvarez. We have as yet no detailed accounts of the ravages caused by the eruption in the east, and are still in ignorance as to whether they have extended to the equatorial territory of the Amazon.

Although the surroundings of Quito have been laid waste, the city itself only suffered from a rain of ashes and a complete darkness, which began on the 26th of June, at three in the afternoon. At Machache and other places the night lasted for thirty consecutive hours. In the midst of this opaque gloom one could hear the bellowing of the cattle and the cries of other animals, who, deprived of their usual food by the shower of ashes, sought in a species of frenzy for the means of satisfying their hunger. Other beasts, frantic with terror, careered hither and thither as if in despair, and the piteous howling of the dogs pierced the air with its ominous sound. In Quito the darkness was not as that of night; it was like that described by the younger Pliny in a letter to Tacitus, in which he relates the eruption of Vesuvius and the destruction of Pompeii. "It was," he says, "as if the lights in a room had been extinguished." At Quito the shower at first was of coarse, heavy sand, which subsequently turned into ashes so fine and impalpable that they penetrated not only into apartments, but into the most carefully-closed receptacles. In the depth of the darkness, men and women, braving the rain of ashes, sallied forth into the streets, screening themselves with umbrellas and lighting their way with lanterns, and all the while these strange apparitions rent the air with their cries and prayers for mercy. The umbrellas, as well as the green eye-glasses used here on journeys, were no superfluous precaution, although they afforded but scant protection against the subtle powder, which it was remembered had in many cases produced blindness during the eruption of 1843 and the rain of ashes of thirty hours which attended it.

From the outset the people had unanimously ascribed the disaster to a chastisement of heaven, brought down by the irreligion of the Government, which had arbitrarily closed the churches and deprived the people of those spiritual consolations that were made doubly necessary by the sad condition of things in general. The idea of a divine punishment spread like wild-fire, and as the tempest raged more wildly this conviction gathered intensity, until at last groups of men, without a leader,

without any concerted plan, and without arms, threw themselves upon the guard at the Military Hospital, while others attacked the guard stationed at the powder magazine on the hill of Javira. There were but few troops in the garrison, the greater part having been sent to suppress the insurrection in Imbabura; but the assailants, lacking arms and direction, were promptly overpowered, with no further loss than that of two soldiers and two citizens. On the day following, before the city had recovered from its consternation, and while clouds of ashes still hovered in the air and pervaded the streets, five of the unhappy prisoners who had been taken during the tumult suffered the barbarous punishment of five hundred lashes. Some have died in consequence. The fact needs no comment. A number of respectable citizens have been arrested, and are to be subjected to a court-martial.

In the present wretched condition of Ecuador, ruined as it is by a series of disasters, the recent eruption is the culmination of its woes. Ten years of peace and prosperity, of which there is faint prospect now, will not suffice to repair the evils which a few hours have wrought in this unfortunate land.

ANTONIO FLORES.

Correspondence.

THE PREVENTION OF RAILROAD STRIKES.

II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: President Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in an article in the last *North American Review*, takes the ground that the railways of the country having become the great channels of inter-State commerce, it is the constitutional duty of the National Government to protect them in the performance of their functions. In this case the demand for Government interference, with all that the name implies, comes from one representing the railroad corporations. As respects any general interference with the national mails it is apparent that the existing law is sufficient. The late strikers begin to realize that to their cost. So far as strikes by railroad employees in particular are concerned, it seems to me that President Scott is one of the very last persons in the country whose prayer for protection should be listened to by Congress or any one else. Let him protect himself. Others have done it; he and his company can do it in the same way. He can draw a lesson in this matter well worth his careful study from that Jacquin pamphlet to which I referred in my letter of a week ago. But I do not know that I can better preface a short description of the way in which the great French railroad company, which M. Jacquin speaks for, secures itself against trade-unionism and consequent strikes among its employees than by quoting the language used by the *Nation* in its issue of March 22 last. Col. Scott's *North American* paper gives to it even additional point. Speaking then of the demand for legislation bearing on railroad strikes, the *Nation* remarked:

"This is a question which ought to be settled by the railroad corporations and not by State legislatures. Indeed it never can be settled on a basis of penal legislation; it must be made a matter of kindly and friendly adjustment between the employers and employed. The proper course to pursue is also a very simple one, and one which we wonder some of our rich and powerful corporations have not already adopted. They should constitute their own benevolent and life-assurance associations for the benefit of their employees. They should not leave this work to trade-unions; to do so, and thus invite outside influence, is neither sound policy nor good economy. . . . All occupations connected with running a railroad are hazardous. Both life and limb are in continual danger. Our railroad corporations are now old enough, large enough, and rich enough to take this into consideration and systematically provide for it. . . . And these enormous corporations let trade-unions steal their men away from them! The thing seems hardly credible, and yet it is so. Plainly, therefore, it is wholly their own fault if the officers of these corporations stand in terror of Mr. Arthur and his brotherhood. It is not legislation but wisdom that they need. They have no business to call for penal statutes, or to look to the Government for protection. Let them protect themselves."

In spite of the resolutions of the late Ohio Republican Convention, and notwithstanding the advocacy of a more direct and incessant Government intervention by men like Secretary Sherman and Senator Stanley Matthews on the one side and President Scott on the other, this seems to me to be not only sound common sense, but also sound American sense. It both places the responsibility where it belongs and demands a remedy from the one power competent to supply it. The French Government in practice most of all, and our Government in theory

least of all, are given to interference with industrial details. Yet, curiously enough, the thoroughly American doctrine I have just quoted from the *Nation* finds its strongest confirmation not in theory but in experience, and that also the experience of France. As respects interference in the details of railroad management, therefore, the Ohio politicians and their Pennsylvania Railroad ally have this time fairly tried to out-Herod Herod—to be more French than France.

The modern Frenchman is naturally communistic. He must be dealt with accordingly. Bearing this fact probably in mind, M. Jacquin tells us that the French company *de l'Est*, wiser in its day than are our railroad companies, had no idea of allowing trade-unions and brotherhoods to step in and make provision for its employees against every unforeseen contingency of lives passed upon the rail. The connection of the employee with the corporation was, therefore, divided into two distinct periods—first, that of active service, and, secondly, that of disability or death. Of the organization of the active service I spoke in my previous letters. For the details of what the company does to identify its employees with it during that period of their lives I must refer to the Jacquin pamphlet. They are well worthy of study, but much more in accordance with the French paternal system than with American individuality. It is with the second period—that of disability or death—that I am now dealing. It is against this that, in the utter absence of all other provision, the American employee has recourse to his union or his brotherhood. Pursuing a wholly different and a far wiser as well as more humane policy, the company *de l'Est* established at an early day two separate funds, known the one as the Provident and the other as the Pension fund. In endowing these funds, however, it took the ground that "if it regarded itself as bound to come to the assistance of its employees, the latter ought to consider themselves bound to lay up something." Accordingly, the provident fund was composed of assessments upon employees, contributions of the company, and fines. The assessment was variable in amount, being fixed at one per cent. per annum on all salaries, which amount might be increased to a sum not exceeding two per cent. The object of this fund is "to remedy as far as possible the sufferings occasioned by sickness; to secure the full income during the time of the sickness, and, in case of death, the payment of the funeral expenses; and to grant to the widow or children assistance equal to the amount of four months' pay." In 1867 it amounted to over \$100,000, although during the previous year it had paid out nearly \$50,000 in aid to its contributors.

The pension fund was made up of an endowment by the company; of an annual assessment equal to two per cent. of the amount of salaries, obligatory for all employees of the company; of an appropriation by the company of an equal amount; and, finally, of gifts. The minimum period of service which entitles an employee to a pension is twenty years; the minimum retiring age is fifty years. "The pension fund becomes a tontine company, whose funds were the property of the whole body of employees." The principle under which this fund is distributed is stated by M. Jacquin, but it is unnecessary to describe it here. It is sufficient to say that it secures to retiring employees, of the required age and length of service, pensions amounting to from 50 to 75 per cent. of the highest salaries ever enjoyed by them. Employees who are dismissed because their services are no longer required are entitled to an equitable adjustment of their claims on the fund, based on a restoration of the sums which they have paid. Employees discharged for cause, or who discharge themselves, "shall have no claim to such repayment."

Finally, M. Jacquin closes his summary with these remarks, which cannot at this time be too strongly commended to the thoughtful consideration of all railroad men:

"There is a way, we will not say an infallible one, but almost certain, of ascertaining if an organization answers the great mass of the requirements to be satisfied—this is, the stability of its employees, the permanency of their voluntary engagements. When an employee, free to look in all occupations for a career which suits his taste or at least answers sufficiently his necessities—when such a man holds his situation during many years and declares even that he is not willing to leave it, we may grant that the organization which answers to this situation includes elements of stability and success, and that it works to the reciprocal satisfaction of officers and subordinates. No organization has reached perfection; every year the realization of certain improvements may be and ought to be attempted; but the permanency of the staff proves that nothing requires changing in the basis of the organization."

It was President Vanderbilt, of the New York Central road, who uttered the one really significant word elicited by the strike, which has already been quoted, when he said, speaking of the employees of the

Central, that they were "part of us." It is very much to be regretted that when he subsequently made a largess among them, in view of their good conduct during the recent crisis, he did not put it in a shape which would bear lasting fruit. The \$100,000 which he ordered to be divided among them will, as a mere gratuity, amount to nothing at all—hardly more than a shilling thrown to a tramp. It may make good the ten per cent. reduction in pay for a month or two. Had it been given, however, as the endowment of a New York Central provident or pension fund the case would have been wholly different. It would then have been a magnificent gift, bearing permanent fruit in the creation of a lasting barrier against all future railroad strikes. The employees of the Central road would have been made to feel hereafter that a provision for their own future existed which it would be well for them and theirs not to sacrifice by any hasty action. Other companies would have followed the example thus set, and the great strike would not have been, as indeed it probably will not now be, without its compensating side.

The subject, however, is one of which we have not yet heard the end. The question of strikes in general, and the division of profits between labor, capital, and intelligence, is one with which no sane man, who is neither a politician nor a sentimentalist, would now care to deal. Railroad strikes, however, are wholly different things. The corporations exposed to them are so large and wealthy, their business is so steady, their employees are so numerous, and their service is so regular that the problem presented is comparatively simple. They need only a system. Curiously enough, it happened that the State Railroad Commissioners of Massachusetts had intended on the very day upon which the recent strike broke out to issue a private invitation to the managers of the railroad companies having termini in Boston to meet them for the purpose of taking the whole subject into consideration. They were not satisfied with the position in which the Boston & Maine strike in February had left it. In view of the events which then followed, the meeting was postponed, but will probably soon be held. The object will be to see if some readjustment of the relations of railroad companies and their employees cannot be arrived at which will be mutually satisfactory, securing to one side permanence of employment, and to the other security of service. Of course, in advance of such a meeting, which will be absolutely resultless unless the whole subject is freshly and thoroughly gone over, nothing has been proposed, much less matured. Nevertheless, the following general principles have been suggested, the consideration of which at this time by all those interested in the subject can do no harm:

1. The establishment of a service having all the elements of permanence, including apprenticeships, regular promotion, and, finally, retiring pensions.
2. A gradual and reasonable increase of wages during active employment, based on the length of continuous service in any one grade.
3. The organization of a provident fund, to supply the place on fixed principles of that charity which is now doled out by all the companies in perpetually recurring hard cases, in amounts which vary according to the fluctuations of business or the good nature of superintendents. This fund to be endowed and guaranteed by the corporations interested in it, and to constitute a regular organized Railroad Employees Mutual Life Assurance Company. The eight companies, for instance, which operate roads terminating in Boston represent a permanent investment of \$100,000,000, their annual net income is \$5,500,000, and they number 12,500 employees. If these companies would unite and organize their present charities and the contributions of their employees on some such basis as M. Jacquin describes, they would almost necessarily bring all trade-unions among those employees to a speedy end.
4. The practicability of having recourse to arbitration as a means of adjusting those differences of a general character which from time to time arise between corporations and their employees.

It certainly seems very desirable for the railroad corporations that those entrusted with their interests should devise some more practical and satisfactory solution for the difficulties that have lately confronted them than seems likely to be evolved out of mere Government meddling, or even the creation of a National Bureau of Industry. That solution, however, certainly will not come either from the politicians or their candidates, or even a large increase of the regular army. A better, a more thorough and charitable organization is necessary, and I know no surer way of arriving at it than through the study of what others not more favorably situated have already done in that direction.

CHARLES F. ADAMS, JR.

QUINCY, MASS., September 3, 1877.

NORTHERN TEACHERS IN THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You have done an injustice to the Southern people by adding the weight of the *Nation* to the belief that Northern teachers are not tolerated in the South. I am sure that the injustice was not intended, and I hope that you will publish the following facts:

Within the past two years, three Northern professors have been elected to fill chairs in the University of North Carolina. They are Messrs. Albert R. Ledoux and F. W. Simonds of New York, and Mr. W. H. Smith of Michigan. Prof. John J. Ladd of Vermont was also elected Superintendent of the State Normal School during its recent session. No enquiries were made concerning the politics of these gentlemen. Although associated with them, I know the politics of only two, both Republicans. There is no animosity in this State against Northern teachers, *per se*, be they Democrats or Republicans. Most of our successful teachers in the past, both in the colleges and schools, came from the North; and the Yankee "school-marm's" slipper has always ranked amongst our strongest and most honored institutions. And yet the history of our University since the "reconstruction" of the State is much the same as that of the South Carolina University. On the readmission of our State into the Union, the trustees and faculty of the University were summarily turned out. The trustees had been elected for life, and some of them had held the position for more than forty years. They represented all parties in the State. Of the faculty, all had taught here longer than ten, and some more than thirty years; three were from the North, another from the North adopted from England, and another was the son of the last named. New trustees were appointed and a new faculty was chosen. It is sufficient to say that the faculty had not one idea in common with the people of the State who educate their children. The result was, no patronage. A few boys came from the country around the village, most of them being too small to wear suspenders and having their breeches buttoned to their jackets. But the faculty did not despair. The State paid the salaries. Soon the political robbers refused to make further appropriation, and of course that closed the University. It could go on without students but not without money.

The University lay in the dust five years, being five years older than the century, and having weathered the storms of civil war. In 1875 its friends and alumni made generous contributions which repaired the damages made by decay and plunder. It is now in a fair condition. The South Carolina University held on longer solely because it had a better hold on the State Treasury. Its faculty, *as a body*, had the same interest in South Carolina as Chamberlain & Co., to wit, public plunder. One or two genuine scholars and honest educators could not leaven that mass.

The death-blow given to the higher institutions of learning in the South is the darkest page in the history of "Reconstruction." Mr. Editor, you recognize and hold up to public scorn the carpet-bagger in politics. Do you not also recognize the carpet-bagger in education, especially in institutions supported entirely by the State Treasury?

Yours, very respectfully,

GEORGE T. WINSTON.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., AUGUST 25, 1877.

[We shall recognize him as often as we get sight of him. In the case of the East Tennessee University we have no evidence and do not believe that he was the cause of the late wholesale dismissals.—ED. NATION.]

WHALLEY THE REGICIDE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a notice of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* which appeared in the *Nation* of August 9, special stress is laid upon certain points which were there noted bearing on the Maryland theories with regard to Edward Whalley the regicide. Both the *Nation* and those who commented on the evidence which was produced in the first number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* appear to have overlooked one fact to which I wished to draw special attention, as being of importance in preserving the continuity of the evidence: this fact was a record of a journey to Virginia made by one of the regicides in the latter part of the year 1680.

1. We had been able to show how scanty was the evidence that Whalley died before 1680, or that he was buried either at New Haven or Hadley; we had also shown that an individual whose general appearance and bearing were suspiciously like that of the regicide had appeared first in

Virginia and then in Maryland; and all that remained to be proved was the *journey*, which was, perhaps, not emphasized sufficiently in the first paper. This expedition was current tradition in New England at the time when Governor Hutchinson first published his *History* (1764), and up to that time no one pretended to designate which judge it was who had made the journey. Taking it for granted that Whalley was "superannuated" at that time, Governor Hutchinson fixes the fact on Goffe, and in this he is followed by President Stiles and all the other writers on this point. In fact, Governor Hutchinson conjectured that Theophilus Whale, of Narragansett, might be Goffe returned from Virginia, but this was shown to be impossible by President Stiles. Notwithstanding all the vagueness, the fact of the journey remains incontrovertible and is important evidence for the Maryland theory. The renewed persecutions in New England incident upon the arrival of Randolph would give the motive for such a journey, and it would be exceedingly improbable that, when once in safety, the regicide would have the temerity to return to New England. We have no means of deciding which judge it was, except by the Robins narrative of 1769 (see *Pennsylvania Magazine*, No. 1, p. 60), which fixes the fact on Whalley, and which is as deserving of belief as any evidence which has been yet brought to the front. In regard to Whalley's life before his appearance in Virginia, it is decidedly misty, but its assertions of facts after that time are supported by voluminous traditional evidence.

2. With regard to Elizabeth Middleton, the wife of the regicide, Mr. Whitmore has had a word to say. He quotes Noble's account, which long ago was shown to be unreliable on many points. In point of fact, Dr. Neill's communication (which follows Mr. Whitmore's) shows that Noble is not an authority on this point; for Noble makes Elizabeth Middleton the only wife of Whalley, whereas recent investigations show that he was married before, and had four children by his first wife (see also *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, III., No. 78, p. 591).

3. With regard to Whalley's age almost all the critics have had a word to say. Granting the fact that centenarians are *rare* does not by any means disprove the Maryland claim. Theophilus Whale, of Narragansett, was 103 years of age at his death, yet Dr. Stiles did not consider that fact as detrimental to the Narragansett theory. And, moreover, although Dr. Stiles was quick to acknowledge the effect on Edward Whalley of his "stormy and harassed life," he does not regard the "extreme vigor" of Theophilus Whale as standing in the way of the Narragansett theory. On the other hand, Edward Wale, of Maryland, *did* show the effects of the hardships he had undergone, being blind for twenty years before his death, and latterly being sick or weak of body. Indeed, both the New England judges had a reputation for exceeding hardihood, although, during the last years of their residence, Whalley is said to have suffered exceedingly from the hardships he had encountered.

In conclusion, I may add that I had anticipated the recommendations of Mr. Whitmore and the *Nation*, and have been in communication with the clerks of Somerset and Worcester counties (Maryland) for some time, and hope in a short time to place on record more satisfactory documentary evidence.

Very truly yours,

R. P. ROBINS.

PHILADELPHIA, August 17, 1877.

Notes.

HENRY HOLT & CO. have in preparation 'Egypt,' by J. C. McCoan, a companion volume in interest with Wallace's 'Russia' and Baker's 'Turkey,' published by the same house.—John Wiley & Sons will publish the following scientific text-books: 'New Descriptive Geometry—Shades, Shadows, and Perspective,' by Prof. S. Edwards Warren; 'Principles of Mechanics,' a manual for high-schools, by Prof. De Volson Wood; and 'Differential Calculus,' by Prof. J. M. Rice.—Lawrence B. Thomas, 54 McCulloch St., Baltimore, invites subscriptions to a limited edition of his 'Genealogical Notes,' containing the pedigree of the Thomas Family of Maryland, and of Snowden, Buckley, Lawrence, Chew, Ellicott, and other connected families.—The Boston Public Library has issued a fifth edition of its *Handbook for Readers*. Under Chronology one sees how the institution *crescit eundo*, thus: 1877, February, Hunt bequest of books relating to the West Indies; May, 18,000 volumes from Mercantile Library Association; July, bequests of a \$10,000 fund and a private library from Charlotte Harris, and of 800 valuable volumes from Miss Eliza Mary Thayer.—A Free-Trade Convention at Saratoga on the 8th inst. takes the place of the conference formerly announced for Chi-

cago. "Its object is a permanent organization for immediate work."—Bartlett's 'Familiar Quotations' would still appear to be regarded in England as an "American" book of reference, of chiefly local value. Otherwise we should hardly find the *Athenæum* announcing (Aug. 18) its discovery of the earliest use of *Fiat justitia ruat cælum* in the 'Simple Cobbler of Aggawam in America.' Bartlett (fifth ed., 1868, p. 589) had already discovered it.—Two foreign brochures relating to the United States are symptomatic of the attention this country is receiving abroad: 'La Présidence aux Etats-Unis: Rutherford B. Hayes, les partis, et la constitution,' dedicated by the author, A. Jouault, to Mr. Tilden (Paris: Hachette); and 'De la representación e influencia de los Estados-Unidos de America en el derecho internacional,' by Raphael-M. de Labra (Madrid).—The first edition of Bellows's French and English Pocket Dictionary, already noticed in these columns, was soon exhausted, and copies began to bring exorbitant prices. The second edition, enlarged and modified in several particulars, is now in the market and deserves the attention of book-collectors, students, and dictionary-makers. The last will find in it, besides new facts concerning the equivalence of French and English—as, for instance, that the French skipper calls "Starboard!" to the man at the wheel just when the English skipper would say "Port!" one referring to the bow of the vessel and the other to the helm—numerous contrivances worth adopting in writing a dictionary of any language.—A French translation of Baron Goltz's 'Léon Gambetta' is announced.

—The *North American* for September-October contains as its leading article a reply by Mr. Stoughton to Judge Black's contribution in the previous number on the "Electoral Conspiracy." It is Mr. Stoughton's object to "explode" the conspiracy "bubble," and, as might be expected, there is not much left of the bubble when he gets through with it, and we say this without implying a high compliment to either the bubble or its destroyer. In discussions of this sort that have been raging in the pages of the *Review* over the Electoral Commission, the difficulty is that the person who has the floor for the time being has it all his own way, and there being no one to decide the merits of the dispute, it is not decided at all. An attempt to obviate this inconvenience was made a short time since in the *Nineteenth Century* by publishing a learned dispute between eminent men, allowing each disputant to examine and comment only on the arguments that preceded his: thus making the discussion, as far as possible, a real one, and keeping all engaged in it well "up to their work." The magazine in question, however, failed in the execution of its idea, for though it secured "live" men for the discussion, whose names were well known, such as Huxley, James Martineau, Fitzjames Stephen, it omitted to select a "live" subject, and instead of taking one from contemporary politics, or Darwinism, or the "Music of the Future," set its men at work on a topic no more inviting than the connection between morality and religion. The public not being just now deeply interested in this question failed to observe what was going on, and thus lost the benefit of a really wise and interesting piece of disputation. The opportunity thus lost the *North American* might seize, and get some very entertaining contributions on matters of public interest. Something approaching this we have in the current number, in the two articles suggested by the recent strikes, one by Thomas A. Scott and the other by a "Striker," who by the way has occupied his self-imposed leisure to such good purpose that his style almost suggests an habitual contributor to the periodical press rather than the unlettered workingman. Mr. Scott makes an argument in favor of policing the inter-State lines by the national Government, without the preliminary farce of calling out the posse (often identical with the strikers themselves) and an unreliable State militia. He urges the passage of a law giving the owners of every such highway of commerce the right to appear by petition before the courts of the United States, and upon showing that inter-State traffic or the transportation of the mails is interfered with, by unlawful combinations, by threats or violence, to be furnished assistance by the United States to enforce the Court's process.

—Mr. Dion Boucicault contributes an article on that fertile subject, the "decline of the drama," in the guise of a letter to Charles Reade, in which he shows that the drama has always been declining: that Cæsar regarded Terence as poor stuff; that Addison ridiculed the grotesque realism of the stage in his day; that Goldsmith fifty years later mourned over the decadence which had set in since Queen Anne's time. Mr. Boucicault seems to think that the explanation of this is that mankind as a dramatic animal has deteriorated: and if we were to consider simply the English for the last three hundred years we should be inclined to agree with him; but that the whole world has been running down hill for two

thousand years is more than the most comprehensive pessimism will allow us to believe. There is, we are inclined to think, a more simple explanation. The stage is almost the only art of which we have no lasting memorials. The pictures, buildings, or poems of different ages we can compare and test by constant æsthetic standards; but though we can compare the plays of one period with those of another, the acting we cannot. The standard is here a living one and perishes with the actors who from age to age fix it. But all the older part of each generation of playgoers have the advantage of having known two or three different standards, and are able to compare the style of the day with that of a day that is departed and of whose merits they are themselves the only surviving witnesses and judges. With them the past is of course tinged with a rosy hue, and the stage, as they first knew it, what no other stage can ever be. Hence any comparison they may make is sure to be to the disadvantage of the drama as it actually exists: and as they are the only persons capable of making comparisons, the prevailing opinion always is that "the drama is declining." It is needless to say that Mr. Boucicault has a word to say to the newspapers, to which he seems inclined to attribute all of the evil in the world that cannot be traced to original sin. He speaks of the press, as we notice most of the gentlemen who deal in "creative" work do, as if it were no mere product of human ingenuity and combined labor, but as a sort of devil having a personal existence and directing the course of events of its own will.

—Mr. David A. Wells's second instalment of "How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?" contains a very valuable collection of facts showing the effect of our complicated tariff on our foreign trade, particularly with our natural customers, Canada, the West Indies, and South America:

"But the commercial relations between the United States and the British North American Provinces are by no means peculiar or exceptional. They are, in fact, the type of the commercial relations which the United States has established with most or all other countries; and it matters little at what point one begins to investigate it. For he will find everywhere evidence, amounting to demonstration, that the development of the industry and commerce of the United States has been most disastrously checked, and the present state of business depression in a great degree occasioned, by the persistent refusal to recognize, in our commercial and fiscal legislation, the simplest principles of political economy. In further proof of this, attention is next asked to the character of our commercial relations with Chili—one of the most prosperous of the South American states. The manufactures of Chili being few and rudimentary in the extreme, its people import from other countries nearly all that they require of cottons, woollens, hardware, agricultural implements, and other machinery, paints, oils, gunpowder, earthen and glass ware, boots and shoes, straw goods, etc., etc. The largest single item of their imports is cotton cloth, of which Chili imported for domestic consumption during the year 1874—a year of great commercial depression—from Great Britain more than 55,000,000 yards; and from the United States during the same year a quantity not in excess of 5,000,000 yards; or, in other words, this little state, one of the smallest among the nations, with a population of about 2,000,000, imported more cotton cloth, to supply her wants, from Great Britain in 1874 than the United States exported that same year in the aggregate to *all* foreign countries combined. During the year 1874 many of the cotton-mills of the United States stood idle or worked on reduced time, for the reason that no market could be found for their products; but had the United States been able to supply Chili during that year with 55,000,000 yards of cotton cloth, the demand would have sufficed to have kept about 150,000 spindles (No. 14 yarn), or about one-quarter of the cotton-mills in the State of New York, in active operation for every working day in the year; and the withdrawal of the products of these mills from competition in the domestic market would probably have enabled many other mills in the country to have avoided suspension, to the great benefit of labor and to the diminution of destitution and idleness."

He then shows, by a process of exclusion, that the cause of the insignificant interchange of commodities was the tariff, because, first, it was not the price of English cottons, English cottons being quite as dear as American; second, because it was not the superiority in quality, American cottons being now better than English. The English manufacturer is, in fact, to-day at such a disadvantage that he is obliged to adulterate his goods with starch, clay, and other substances, and Chili would probably prefer to take American cottons; but as we will not take in exchange what Chili has for sale, but keep it out by a protective tariff, England supplies the market. General McClellan has an article on the Eastern war, which is valuable, though of course it does not come down to the most recent dates; Mr. Emerson writes on "Perpetual Forces"; E. L. Burlingame has some sensible criticism of recent American novels; Felix Adler concludes his contributions on "Reformed Judaism"; and there are some notes of importance on the "Progress of Astronomical Discovery." Altogether, this number is the best that has appeared under the new management.

—Mr. Simon Sterne, in the *International Review* for September-October, furnishes a summary of the chief facts and arguments of the report of the Municipal Committee appointed by Mr. Tilden, with some additional matter. For the labor of thus making the report fit for popular reading Mr. Sterne deserves hearty thanks. Every day certainly increases the number of those who believe that "the evils from which American city governments suffer are attributable to such deep-rooted causes, that it is the merest charlatanism to hold out any expectation of very important results from changing mere methods of administration, *personnel*, or departments." A restriction of the power of making appropriations of money to those who furnish the money is the only legitimate and radical method of reform, and to this we must come sooner or later in all large cities. Among the other articles in the present number of the *International Review* there is scarcely one which is not worth reading. The recent strike is discussed by Mr. W. M. Grosvenor; and Dr. Francis Wharton contributes the first number of a series of articles on "Judicial Partisanship," the design of which is to prove (1) that "so far as concerns routine political issues of constant recurrence, and involving no great stakes, judicial impartiality may be relied on," but (2) in cases "of exceptional character and of rare occurrence, involving great political stakes, judges are largely influenced by their political sympathies." The present article considers the partisan character of the decisions of the judges at the trial of Queen Caroline. The whole series will doubtless confirm the views of those who oppose any future relegation of questions involving political parties to the Supreme Court or any of its members. Professor Walker's current paper on "The World's Fair," giving the opinions of a competent critic upon the main features of the display, and telling us precisely in what points the United States excelled and in what it was deficient; Mr. A. H. Stephens's discussion of the authorship of the Letters of Junius, which he partly inclines to believe were written by Thomas Lyttleton; and Professor Amos Sheldon's essay on "Modern Armies and Modes of Warfare," are all readable.

—The theatres are already open again, with every prospect of a successful fall season. "Ah Sin" seems to have been written to bring out the peculiar talent for Chinese acting possessed by Mr. Parsloe, and may be said to be a great improvement upon the "Two Men of Sandy Bar," in which there was altogether too little Chinese relief from the dull monotony of the portions which represented American life. How true *Ah Sin* is to life we do not know, but if the representation of Judge Lynch's court of "Vigilantes" as given in this play is correct there must have been numerous executions of innocent men in the early days of California. At the Union Square "Pink Dominoes," a play of the same class as "Forbidden Fruit" played last year at Wallack's, has been brought out with great success. How many of these dramas there may be in existence we do not know, but they are all the fruit of one parent stem, and that of French growth. In them all the interest turns on the adventures of two married men, who get away from their wives by means of some trick for the purpose of a night's pleasure. In some way (in the present case by means of dominoes) they all meet during the night, the wickedness of the husbands is thoroughly exposed, and after a thousand blunders and misadventures all ends happily amid a domestic peace and forgiveness which promises more escapades of the same kind. The subject is one which is displeasing to Anglo-Saxon taste and notions of morality; but, whether because Anglo-Saxon taste and notions of morality are dying out, or for some other reasons, there is no kind of play that succeeds better in New York. Coghlan, who takes the part of one of the husbands, is decidedly better in comedy of this sort than he is in Shakespeare, though he always just misses being natural. "Baby," another French play, is not so well acted at the Park Theatre as it ought to be, though even badly acted it is extremely amusing. Mr. Lamoyne, who is in certain characters one of the best comedians we have, is very good as the depraved tutor and "friend of the family." At Wallack's, English burlesque is the order of the day, but it is not altogether the dreary, unmitigated burlesque of former seasons. Lydia Thompson, who has certainly the merit of energy and ingenuity, has in "Oxygen" come nearer—yet oh! how far—to French *opéra-bouffe* than anything in English we have seen. The play is founded on Jules Verne's extravaganza of "Doctor Ox," the scientific man who wakes up the inhabitants of a sleepy Dutch town by the substitution of oxygen for common air. Of course this affords room for strange metamorphoses of all sorts, and also for an absurd dénouement, when the gas-works explodes and the natives suddenly revert to their former comatose condition.

—We lately gave some account of the Connecticut Agricultural Ex-

periment Station. Since then it has had submitted to it for analysis samples of "Composition for Grass" and "Composition for Vegetables," sold by a New Haven firm of manufacturers and dealers in "improved fertilizers." The barrels of the Composition for Grass promise the purchaser 86 per cent. of organic and soluble "plant food," worth \$32 per ton. The Station analysis allows only 4 per cent. of plant food, and 96 per cent. of "water, vegetable matter and earth, not worth barrelling," the whole valued at \$1.03 per ton. To loss in water is ascribed the difference between the selling weight of 250 pounds per barrel, and the actual weight of 204½ pounds. The Composition for Vegetables fared no better. According to the pretensions of its makers, it contained 73 per cent. of plant food; according to the Station analysis, only 2½ per cent., "or less than a good compost"; and instead of being worth \$32 a ton was worth only \$0.99. Moreover, it bore a striking resemblance to the Composition for Grass, and the shrinkage from loss of water was even greater—195½ lbs., instead of 250. It will not require many exposures like these to reimburse the farmers of Connecticut a thousand-fold for their share in the cost of maintaining the Station.

—Apropos of the late astronomical discovery, a correspondent writes us from Union Springs, N. Y.:

"It is very probable that Prof. Hall is the first American who has seen the two satellites of Mars, but it is a great mistake to speak of him as their discoverer. Their existence was known to the astronomers of Laputa one hundred and fifty years ago, and they had already determined their distance from the planet and their period of rotation, in which elements Prof. Hall has perhaps made some mistake. It is to be hoped that this confirmation of his accuracy will have the effect of drawing increased attention to the too much discredited Travels of Gulliver."

—In the August number of *Macmillan's Magazine* Mr. Goldwin Smith discusses "The Decline of Party Government" in a way that should prove specially instructive to American readers. He begins, indeed, by paying us the compliment of his opinion that "the late Presidential election appears likely, in its results, to mark an epoch not only in the political history of the United States, but in that of all constitutional countries. In the person of the new President, the American Government has come out of party, and is trying to be the Government of the whole nation." He goes on to quote Burke's definition and defence of party as a necessary factor in constitutional government; criticises it by showing that the principle of party organization "must not be a moral principle, because this would imply an organized opposition on the other side, and the permanent existence of an immoral party," but must be one of expediency; that transcendent questions of this sort are exceptional, and not normal, and, "however important, do not last for ever"; that "the better a party is in point of intelligence, individual sense of responsibility, individual regard for the public good, the less submissive to the whip and therefore the weaker it becomes—a singular result of the only perfect system." He ridicules the idea that, from the nature of man, there must always be a conservative and a liberal party, and, finally, lays down the proposition that

"Let party, as a system of government, be good or evil, the materials for parties are nearly exhausted in the British colonies, and probably in the United States; that they are temporarily exhausted, and may one day be entirely exhausted, in England; while in other countries (in France and Germany, for instance), the sections and subsections of opinion are too numerous and the lines between them are too wavering to admit of the clear division into two parties absolutely essential to the working of the system, which, when there are three or four parties instead of two, becomes a quagmire of intrigue on which no government can be founded."

It is, we think, too early to speculate on the future of parties in this country as determined by civil-service reform, so that we regard Mr. Smith's argument as more valuable for dissipating the spell of party than as prophecy. He himself remarks that "nothing is more curious than the ingenuity with which new reasons are invented for old institutions when the original reasons have ceased to exist"; and Mr. Blaine at Woodstock, though exceptionally foolish, was not exceptionally ingenious in discovering a new public necessity for maintaining the old party lines; we have plenty like him in both camps.

—Perhaps the most notable paper read this year at the meeting of the British Association was, according to the *Spectator*, Professor Allison's on embryology. From recent careful studies of sharks' eggs he considered it proved that the limbs of mammals are the divided remains of a continuous lateral fin, and "examination of the structure of the parts making up the limbs of the vertebrates leads us to believe that each limb contains materials for more than one metamer, and it becomes an interesting subject for speculation as to why in vertebrate animals the

number of limbs has never exceeded two pairs." "There is no morphological reason," adds the *Spectator*, "and the reason, therefore, must be mechanical—bipedal and quadrupedal animals deriving from their limited number of legs some advantage in the struggle for existence. It would follow, we presume, that supposing conditions slightly altered—supposing the soil, for instance, as yielding as sand sometimes is—we might have had a hundred-legged horse, or a twelve-legged man—an idea which opens a strange vista of possibilities in other planets."

CLINGMAN'S SPEECHES.*

I.

ANYTHING more insulting to an old-school Republican than to invite his attention to the last political testament of a Confederate brigadier-general could hardly be imagined. Such is virtually the character of the book before us: for Mr. Clingman, while reproducing his principal speeches in the Senate and House of Representatives, and connecting them by a narrative partly personal and partly historical, not only aims to let posterity know him and his time, but assuredly means to challenge its verdict on his conduct and his motives. In fact, in his preface, he distinctly commends "the publication as a whole" to the young men of the country, "in the hope that it may prove interesting and instructive" to them; and though this may cause it to be looked upon by Mr. Blaine's followers with somewhat of the same horror with which the author used to regard an abolition tract, we shall for ourselves say briefly that we entirely concur in this commendation, and should extend it to the older generation if there were any hope that a considerable number of them would heed our advice. The appearance of this volume, which includes Mr. Clingman's part in nominating and electing Mr. Tilden, marks the actual close of the Civil War, and it is too much to expect the Northern or the Southern mind to sit down and dispassionately review the causes of the great revolution and pass fair judgment on the principal actors on either side. So far as this came within Mr. Clingman's intent, it cannot be said that he has succeeded, but he has brought to the task a degree of candor and of moderation which few of his antagonists in Congress and in the field would be likely to exhibit under the same temptations.

To show his title to be listened to with respect we shall quote from an address delivered in June, 1875, at Davidson College (p. 46):

"Probably in no period of our [North Carolina] history were the laws more successfully administered, and private rights better protected, than throughout the year 1866. The United States, however, thought proper to abolish our State government, to disfranchise most of those citizens whose capacity and training fitted them to discharge public business, and also conferred the right of suffrage and to hold office on a large class without experience or knowledge. That to effect these objects the Reconstruction Acts were necessary I do not question, for our own people would not of themselves have disfranchised their leading men, nor given universally the right to vote and hold office to the liberated colored men. It would be out of place at this time for us to enquire whether we might not have so acted as to have greatly lessened the mischief caused by these proceedings."

We doubt if the Republican party will ever receive, or will ever require, a better justification of its reconstruction policy in the abstract than this admission contains. It is only one specimen of the fairness to opponents and self-restraint which the perusal of these speeches compels the reader to ascribe as native qualities to our North-Carolinian. Not more surprising therefore is it to find him engaged in a duel with Mr. Yancey in less than a year after he took his seat in Congress as a Representative of the Eighth or Buncombe District, than to witness his conversion from the conservatism that opposed (alone among Southern Representatives) the famous Twenty-first Rule (by which anti-slavery petitions were excluded), to the fire-eating fanaticism that advocated the occupation of Panama as a step towards ensuring a slaveholding empire on the Gulf, and favored "a war with Spain, England, and even France," as a means of staving off disunion or civil war. We are accustomed to associate the extreme views and belligerent temper of the Southern leaders before the war with real ignorance of the North and of the foreign powers whom they so recklessly provoked. Mr. Clingman's change of mind, however, dates directly from his first visit North in 1849, when, as he says, he "for the first time realized the extent of the anti-slavery movement." He saw that it could only be counteracted by such a demonstration on the part of the South as should produce a reaction at the North. He at once declared that the application of the Wilmot Proviso to the newly-acquired Mexican territory ought to be resisted in a manner "com-

mensurate with the violence of the attack"; that it would mark a "great organic change in our political system" which the Southern States ought not to acquiesce in; and that the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia would likewise be sufficient ground for disunion. In January, 1850, he asserted in the House that the evils "already inflicted" by the North "greatly exceed in amount any injury that Great Britain attempted when she drove the colonies into resistance," and entered into an elaborate calculation as to how the South could maintain itself financially if separated from the Union; and, noticing the threat that the North would in that case take possession of the Mississippi, predicted that "the Southern States, having now a free population of six millions, and producing in succession such soldiers as Washington, Jackson, Scott, and Taylor, need have no serious fears of foreign [*i.e.*, Northern] aggression." In May, 1852, he was already talking of "my countrymen," meaning Southerners. In short, from having been a moderate Whig, who loathed and denounced Calhoun as a disunionist, he not only became almost instantly reconciled to the prospect of disunion, but did all he could thenceforth to familiarize the South with it, and to prove how easily and safely and advantageously it could be effected.

In the swift collapse of a character so courageous and independent as Mr. Clingman's one sees the spell of slavery as clearly as in the reluctant adhesion of his own State to the secession movement. Later on, under the same baleful influence, we feel that his candor gives way. He lent his support to the measure to repeal the Missouri Compromise, against his own views of policy, and, one cannot help thinking, against his convictions. His speech on Kansas and Nebraska, April 4, 1854, shows a marked lowering of tone, as befits the pleader of a bad cause who can no longer be consecutive or logical or ingenuous, and who must needs shirk the main issue—Shall the plighted faith of the nation be violated? It is stumpy oratory, pure and simple, in striking contrast with the speaker's usual manner. Six years later (May 7, 1860), striving to maintain the "non-intervention" compromise of 1850, against Jeff Davis, who demanded Congressional protection of slave property in the Territories, he says (p. 490), "I am free to admit" (but he was really bound to admit) "that if, in an unwise moment, a man makes a compromise that is ruinous to him, he may, under great necessity, avoid it, perhaps." The italics are ours; the qualifying clauses look like the struggles of conscience, but they are not. The next day he refers to the 36-30 line, "which had been regarded as sanctified by thirty-four years' existence, and which was called a compromise"; and to the compromise of 1850, which, if his colleagues "looked upon it as [he] did, as a compromise," they would not seek to disturb. In other words, he was fully committed to the doctrine that one party to an agreement may decide (1) whether there was an agreement; (2) whether it was made in a wise moment; (3) whether it was advantageous or ruinous to himself; (4) whether there was a great necessity for refusing to abide by it and declaring it null and void.

It is impossible to overlook the connection between this doctrine and the repudiation mania now prevalent at the South. In his maiden speech in the House (March 7, 1844) Mr. Clingman was anxious to use the revenues from the public lands "to enable those States that are indebted to pay back to their creditors what they have borrowed, and to remove the cloud which rests on the honor of some of them." He went much further. Holding up the Democratic party to scorn, he enquired:

"What do they think of repudiation itself? A State borrows money, and uses it; and she afterwards refuses to pay the debt, and repudiates it; and this monstrous doctrine, instead of being met by one universal shout of execration, is in some quarters excused and defended. I rejoice, however, that no Whig can be numbered among its apologists. If there was such an individual in our ranks, I should desire to see him at once expelled from the party. It is a question about which I, for one, cannot consent to temporize. With the opinions I hold it would be criminal in me not to denounce it on all proper occasions. *It is a cancer in our system, which, if not removed, will destroy our national character and everything else which we ought most to value.* Important as is character to individuals, it is still more so to states. When a people have lost all sense of national honor, the immutable laws of Providence forbid them to be anything but slaves."

The mind uncorrupted as yet by sophistical endeavors to frame a satisfying excuse for repudiating the national obligation contracted in 1820, knew honor from dishonor and plied the lash where it was deserved. It is melancholy, therefore, to find Mr. Clingman, in the very last speech reported in this volume (Tilden campaign, September 12, 1876), denouncing the demonetization of silver as "the most remarkable public crime that has ever been committed by our Government—perhaps I might say, in view of the circumstances, by any civilized government," for the reason that "as silver was at that time rather the cheaper of the two

* Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Hon. Thomas L. Clingman, of North Carolina. With additions and explanatory notes. Raleigh. 1877. 8vo, pp. v, 625.

metals, the Government could have paid its debt more easily in silver than gold"; denouncing the Republican party for having, "against the vote of every Democrat," made the principal of the Government debt payable in coin, although it was "payable in greenbacks, according to such authorities as Thad. Stevens and B. F. Butler"; and for having "passed the Resumption Act to destroy the paper circulation."

The conclusion to which every unprejudiced reader of this volume must come, as regards the effect of slavery on the Southern character, is that it made it impossible for Northern and Southern men to discuss moral questions from a common ground. Mr. Clingman's account and explanation of the spread of abolition sentiments by means of the press reads as if he were at a loss to reconcile it with the order of nature. It is a great deal for him, therefore, to allow, after the catastrophe which destroyed "the greatest advance made in the science of government and of the difference of the races of men and their adaptation to different social institutions," that "the effects produced have as overwhelming evidence in favor of their being Providentially-directed movements as any other recorded in profane history." But we doubt if he can still regard as anything but jargon Mr. Charles Francis Adams's tribute, at the late Free-Soil celebration, to the Abolitionists, as "that small band of courageous men, and women too, who, having no fear of man before their eyes, and yet conscious of the danger that would beset them from their adoption of a most unpopular cause, went on boldly in the face of a malignant and dangerous opposition to uphold with steady perseverance the cause of justice, of humanity, and of truth." Still less do we believe that he can regard as genuine the feeling which Whittier threw into his splendid "Psalm" in honor of the same Buffalo Convention celebrated by Mr. Adams, and characterized by Mr. Clingman in 1850 as having "objects contrary to the whole spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and which, if carried into effect, would inevitably have destroyed the Union":

"Now, joy and thanks for evermore!
The weary night has well-nigh passed;
The slumbers of the North are o'er,—
The Giant stands erect at last!

"O prisoners in your house of pain,
Dumb, toiling millions, bound and sold,
Look! stretched o'er Southern vale and plain,
The Lord's delivering hand behold!"

Camp, Court, and Siege. A narrative of personal adventure and observation during two wars, 1861-1865, 1870-1871. By Wickham Hoffman, Assistant Adjt.-Gen. U. S. Vols. and Secretary U. S. Legation at Paris. (New York: Harpers.)—Mr. Hoffman has given, in these light, chatty reminiscences, an account of what fell under his observation during a campaign of four years in the Southwest, and a diplomatic career of as many more in Paris, terminated by the events of the Franco-Prussian War, the siege of Paris, the rising and overthrow of the Commune. It is not often that a man has, in so short a space of time, the opportunity for so much observation and adventure. Mr. Hoffman has not contributed much to the history of our own war, but what he has to say about the siege of Paris and the Commune is valuable, as he was one of the few intelligent and impartial foreigners in the city throughout the entire period. His description of the condition of the French army and the general demoralization tallies exactly with what we know from other sources, and contains many little scenes which throw a good deal of light on the French defeat. One of these is at the time of Burnside's peace mission from the German lines, which, by the way, we have always fancied must have been thought a huge joke by the Germans, but which Mr. Hoffman represents as having been suggested by them. General Burnside went into Paris with Mr. Paul Forbes, a private citizen, who, for the sake of military etiquette, was promoted to the post of aid-de-camp, with the title of colonel. A meeting was appointed with Trochu, Mr. Hoffman acting as interpreter. We give his account of the interview in his own words:

"Before Burnside had stated the object of his visit, Trochu made us a speech. He spoke well for nearly half an hour. He told us that France had been very wicked; that she had fallen away from the true Catholic faith; that infidelity and scepticism were rampant in the land; that the misfortunes which had come upon her were deserved; that they were visitations for the sins of the people; but that, when they had repented and humbled themselves, he had faith that the punishment would pass from them. He continued in this strain for full twenty minutes, speaking very eloquently; then pulled out his handkerchief, and saying, 'Excuse my emotion,' he wept. After this he came to business. Burnside confined himself most conscientiously to the exact tenor of his message. Trochu made repeated suggestions of such and such possibilities, but

Burnside refused to follow him. He knew nothing but his instructions. As I had feared, Trochu bristled up at the no-revictualment clause. 'Such a condition had never been heard of. From the most remote antiquity there had always been revictualment allowed in case of armistice, so much per head per diem.' He gave us at that time no positive answer, but said he would discuss the matter with his colleagues. Negotiations failed upon this very point. The French Government called it a point of honor. It was rather a point of vanity. We did not need the provisions, as the result showed we had food enough for three months. Yet, for that barren privilege of bringing in food which was not needed, the Government of the National Defence rejected the armistice. They could then have made peace, with the loss of one province and two milliards. They continued the war, and lost two provinces and five milliards."

He gives also a war-song of the National Guard, which, if he did not vouch for it, we should have been inclined to think had been written by Offenbach. The National Guard, it should be remembered, were the last reserve of the country, but their antipathy to fighting was insuperable. As they marched through the streets they sang:

"Nous partons,
 ons, ons,
Comme des moutons,
Comme des moutons,
Pour la boucherie,
 rie, rie.

"On nous massacra,
 ra, ra,
Comme des rats,
Comme des rats,
Comme Bismarck rira!
 rira!"

Scientific Results of the U. S. Arctic Expedition, Steamer Polaris, C. F. Hall, commanding. Vol. I. Physical Observations by Emil Bes-sels. (Washington: Government Printing-Office, 1876. 4to.)—After a long delay, for which the author of the volume before us is in nowise responsible, the first portion of the scientific results of the *Polaris* Expedition to the Arctic regions has been printed. It consists of nearly a thousand pages, divided into fifteen separately-paged parts, and appears under the auspices of a committee of the National Academy of Sciences, of which Prof. Henry is chairman. Devoted to physical and hydrographical observations, and deductions from them, it is a work which recommends itself to the scientific rather than the literary reader. Under the caption "Passage," may be found a concise history of the expedition so far as it relates to scientific observations, followed by a chapter on the "Condition of the Ice" and another on the "Density of the Sea and Remarks on Currents." Among the most interesting and valuable of the results in hydrography are those deduced from the tidal observations, which extended over nearly eight lunations, and which are exhibited on a chart of the North Pacific and Atlantic cotidal curves. These (as well as independent observations treated of by Houghton in the *Philosophical Transactions*, "On the Tides of Point Barrow") indicate that the wave of *Polaris* Bay is probably derived from the Atlantic wave, the latter rounding the northern extreme of Greenland and entering Robeson Channel from the north. The "Temperature of the Air" includes records and discussions of atmospheric temperatures observed at both winter quarters of the expedition, and a review of the present thermic conditions of the Arctic region. Under "Hygrometrical Observations" we find hourly observations of the amount of moisture contained in the air, experience proving that if the necessary precautions be taken these observations are not necessarily made impracticable by the low temperatures of the Arctic winter. Then follow chapters on "Atmospheric Pressure," "Record and Discussion of the Winds," and "Polar Radiation," the latter with some interesting observations. In that on the "Face of the Sky and State of the Weather" the remarkable fact is recorded that cumulus clouds were observed almost daily at *Polaris* House and *Polaris* Bay, while, as is well known, in most regions they are rarely observed in winter. Further, we have "Observations on Ozone"; "Meteorological Observations taken at Sea"; "Chronometer Journal"; "Astronomical Observations"; "Pendulum Experiments," a long series; the few magnetic observations that were saved from the wreck of the *Polaris*; a list of auroras; and very full psychrometrical tables for the use of further Arctic expeditions.

The volume is illustrated by two maps, a number of plates, and many woodcuts, and is printed in the creditable style common to most of the scientific works which issue from the Government press. The work bears evidence of thoroughness and care on every page, and physical students everywhere, as well as those specially devoted to Arctic researches, will congratulate Dr. Bessels and the country on the completion of this the most arduous portion of his labors. It is to be hoped that the remaining

volumes may not long be delayed. It may certainly be a just source of pride to all Americans, that under the peculiar circumstances with which the progress of this expedition was attended, so much of solid and permanent value was nevertheless obtained.

Art Anatomy. By Dr. William Rimmer. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1877.)—Dr. Rimmer is known to a certain number of persons here and in Boston as a draughtsman of singular power, shown especially in a consummate mastery of the human figure, such as we may suppose the great artists of the Renaissance to have possessed, enabling him to portray it without a moment's forethought or preparation in any attitude with unerring accuracy, and giving to his slightest sketches the stamp of life. This exceptional gift he has exercised from time to time for the advantage of classes in Boston and New York. Last winter he took part in the instruction of the Art School at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and to the admiration expressed at his blackboard sketches, dashed off at the instant and yet full of truth and expression, and the regret that they must disappear for ever as suddenly as they came, we may perhaps ascribe the publication of the work before us. It is an atlas of eighty-one heliotype reproductions of a series of drawings, 10 × 14 inches in size, mostly in outline but carefully elaborated, forming what we may call a grammar of expression for the human form.

"Art is the language of the sensibilities, and in this tongue every different form describes a different character." This is Dr. Rimmer's motto, and he has illustrated it in detail by exhibiting the relations of parts to each other, and the significance of proportions in head and limbs in their bearing upon the dominant expression of the whole. To art, the human body, like all other objects, has a purely representative value; it is a sign to be interpreted. The work of art must excite a particular sentiment; this is its *raison d'être*, and no other virtues, no elevation of aim, no fidelity to external facts can give it the right to exist. The function of the artist is first of all to feel out amidst the chaos of impressions those which tell his story. Most persons when they try to draw cannot see the wood for the trees; nature puts them out. The beginner at the life-school is bewildered, and looks with amazement at the assured strokes of the adept. He has eyes, but sees not—for he has not learned the comparative values of what he sees. Here Dr. Rimmer's book can help him, for art speaks a universal language, understood in a measure by each as soon as he hears it. To a certain extent we are all physiognomists, and act constantly on the instinctive assumption of the intelligibility and the veracity of form and features. The business of the artist is to carry

the interpretation further, to emphasize the fatal lines in which the secrets of nature are told, so that all can read their meaning. It is only through this perception of values that any accuracy of drawing becomes possible. Not the most assiduous copying nor any human memory could seize or retain a hundredth part of the possible combinations of lines; for the slightest change of position is echoed through the whole, and gives a fresh arrangement. The careless or mechanical artist is betrayed in the slightest figure he puts into his picture; we feel that it is only clothes and skin, hide and horns, not the living creature.

The first thirty plates or so relate to the head, pointing out in detail the value, as expressing character, of variations in the general contour, in the comparative prominence of the different planes of the face, and in the several features; also the natural connection of various arrangements of the hair and beard with particular types of head. The rest are devoted to an elaborate anatomy of the trunk and limbs, with constant reference to the coherence and interdependence of parts. The student will get here probably all that he needs concerning the muscular and bony structure of the human body, and will get it, too, after it has passed through the mind of one who is fully alive to the purposes for which he needs it. It is a pity that the book is so costly, but this is better and more for the interest of all concerned than that the completeness of treatment should suffer. There is no separate text, but explanations are supplied by brief notes at the side of the drawings, in some instances perhaps too brief to be fully intelligible.

* Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.

Publishers.—Prices.

Creighton (Louise), <i>Life of Sir Walter Raleigh</i>	(Livingtons)
Friedrich (J.), <i>Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils, Vol. I.</i> , swd.....	(Westermann & Co.)
Hulstead (W. R.), <i>Future Religious Policy of America</i>	(Hitchcock & Walden) \$1.50
Hermann (E.), <i>Die Bedeutung des Sommernachtsstraums</i> , swd.....	(Westermann & Co.)
His Grandmothers: a Tale.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1.00
Hosmer (F. L.), <i>The Way of Life</i>	" " 75
Hunt (Dr. D.), <i>Concerning Medical Reform</i>	(A. Williams & Co.)
James (E.), <i>French Grammar</i>	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1.20
Mitchell (Dr. S. W.), <i>Nurse and Patient, and Camp Cure</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Oliphant (Mrs.), <i>Dante</i>	" " "
Poe (E. A.), <i>Prose Tales</i> , swd.....	(W. J. Widdleton) 50
Stewart (G. J.), <i>Story of the Great Fire in St. John, N. B.</i>	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1.25
Travellers' Complete Note-book.....	(Souvenir Pub. Co.) 40
Waring (G. E., Jr.), <i>Village Improvements</i>	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)
Sanitary Condition of City and Country Houses. (D. Van Nostrand)	

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"We have had in use in the Adams Academy, since it was opened in 1872, the Latin Grammar of Messrs. Allen & Greenough. I have regarded it as the best Latin Grammar for school use published in this country. . . . I consider this new edition as a great improvement upon the former ones."—*Dr. Wm. R. Dimmock, Adams Academy, Quincy.*

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To be Published early in September:

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Continued from page iv

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NEW JERSEY, Lawrenceville.
CLASSICAL AND COMMERCIAL HIGH SCHOOL. H. & S. M. HAMILL. Next school year begins 11th of Sept., 1877.

NEW JERSEY, Morristown.
MISS E. ELIZABETH DANA having removed her French and English Boarding-school for young ladies from Dodd's Ferry, on the Hudson, to Morristown, N. J., will reopen on Wednesday, Sept. 12. Terms, for board and tuition in English, French, and Latin, \$50 per annum.

NEW JERSEY, Morristown.
MORRISTOWN BOARDING-SCHOOL for Boys (9 to 16 years). Rev. S. N. HOWELL, A.M.

NEW JERSEY, New Brunswick.
MRS. M. S. PARK'S FAMILY AND DAY SCHOOL for Young Ladies and Little Girls reopens Sept. 19.

NEW JERSEY, New Brunswick.
RUTGERS GRAMMAR SCHOOL—108th year begins Sept. 12. Sends out boys a year to college. Prepares for college, scientific school, or business. Twenty boarders. Rev. D. T. KELLEY, Rector.

NEW JERSEY, Passaic, 11 miles from New York, on Erie R.R.
CLASSICAL SCHOOL for Boys of all ages.—Moderate prices; healthy situation. Opens Sept. 4. Catalogues on application. CHAS. W. STICKLE, A.M.

NEW YORK, Albany.
ST. AGNES SCHOOL, under direction of Rt. Rev. W. C. DOANE. Circulars sent on application.

NEW YORK, Batavia.
MRS. W. G. BRYAN'S Boarding-School for Young Ladies.

NEW YORK, Binghamton.
BINGHAMTON COLLEGE and Conservatory of Music, for Young Ladies. \$200 to \$300. Doubled its numbers last year. Department of Bible study and Bible work FREE.
Rev. K. A. PATTERSON, A.M., President.

NEW YORK, Brooklyn, 139 and 141 South Oxford Street.
LOCKWOOD'S ACADEMY, for both sexes. —Reopens September 11, 1877.

NEW YORK, Brooklyn, 360 State Street.
MISS E. CHRISTIANSEN'S English, German, and French Boarding and Day School, with Kindergarten, will reopen September 10.

NEW YORK, Brooklyn.
PICKER COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE.—The thirty-first year will begin Sept. 12, 1877. The institution is furnished with complete and extensive apparatus in every department, as well for instruction in Music, Painting, and the Languages as in the regular course. Pupils from abroad will find a pleasant home in the family connected with the Institute. For circulars apply to A. CRITTENDEN, Principal.

NEW YORK, Clinton, Oneida Co.
DWIGHT SEMINARY, for Young Ladies. —Send for circular to BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT.

NEW YORK, Garden City, Long Island.
THE SCHOOLS of the CATHEDRAL of the Incarnation.
The Rt. Rev. A. N. LITTLEJOHN, D.D., Bishop.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, FOR BOYS.
The Rev. John Cavarly Middleton, M.A., Warden.
Mr. Henry C. Johnson, M.A., Head-Master.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL, FOR GIRLS.
Under the charge of the Daughters of Long Island.

Both Schools open September 16, at 10 o'clock. Terms for all ordinary expenses \$25 per annum. Music and Modern Languages extra. For further information apply to the Warden, at Glen Cove, until September 15.

NEW YORK, Havana, Schuyler Co.
COOK ACADEMY—*Constitute of Principal* admits to Vassar College without examination. Expenses, \$200 per year. Fall term begins Sept. 3. Address A. C. WINTERS, A.M., Principal.

NEW YORK, Irvington-on-Hudson.
MISS DEFFREUX'S BOARDING-SCHOOL for Young Ladies will reopen on Monday, September 17, 1877. Miss Deffreux refers, among others, to the following gentlemen: Rev. Orville Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.; Mr. A. C. Richards, Irvington, N. Y.; Mr. H. R. Bishop, Irvington, N. Y.; Mr. John E. Williams, Pres. Met. Nat. Bank, N. Y.; Mr. Wm. Orton, Pres. W. U. Telegraph Co., N. Y.; Mr. Moses H. Grinnell, N. Y.; Rev. G. D. Wildes, Riverdale, N. Y.

NEW YORK, Kinderhook.
KINDERHOOK ACADEMY.—*Fits for the best colleges and scientific schools*. Commences Sept. 6. GEORGE H. TAYLOR, A.M., Prin. (eight years Classical Instructor, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.)

NEW YORK, Mt. Morris.
FIVE GREY SCHOOL, Diversion Seminary. Opens Sept. 12. Rev. J. LINDLEY, Principal.

NEW YORK, Newburgh.
HENRY W. SUGLAR'S Boarding School will reopen Sept. 11—Preparation of boys for College a specialty; boys under 14 years of age preferred. For circulars address the PRINCIPAL.

NEW YORK, Newburgh.
MISS E. J. MACKIE'S Family School for Young Ladies and Children reopens Sept. 19. Careful elementary training; the best facilities for languages and music.

NEW YORK, North Granville.
GRANVILLE MILITARY ACADEMY.—Successor to Stamford Institute. Healthiest climate, elegant building, steam heat, cheerful home, no temptations. Earnest work for boys fitting for college, science or business. Twenty-eighth year begins Sept. 11. Send for Catalogue to WALLACE C. WELLCOX, A.M., President.

NEW YORK, Nyack-on-the-Hudson.
ROCKLAND INSTITUTE—A Young Ladies' School. Delightful location; excellent opportunities for physical development; home comforts; Christian culture. No pretence, but honest work. G. D. WILSON, Prof. of Music; J. H. WORKMAN, Prof. of Modern Languages; ALBERT WELLS, Prof. of Classics.

NEW YORK, Oneida, Madison Co.
DE LINCEY SCHOOL, for Young Ladies and Children. The Rev. GEORGE P. HUBBARD, Rector; Miss I. M. MARSH, Principal. The fourth year begins September 19, 1877. For circulars address the Rector or Principal.

NEW YORK, Peekskill.
PEEKSKILL MILITARY ACADEMY.—Opens September 12. Send for circular.

NEW YORK, Pelham Manor.
PELHAM MANOR SCHOOL—in the new and picturesque suburb of New York, Pelham Manor—will open Sept. 20. English, Classics, German, French, Drawing, Painting, and Music. The most thorough preparation for college, and excellent home advantages for family pupils. References: Prof. Mitchell and President Raymond of Vassar College, ex-President Cummings of Wesleyan University, and others. Address for circulars, etc., G. A. PERRY, A.M.

NEW YORK, Port Chester, Westchester Co.
A BOARDING SCHOOL for 25 Boys.—O. WINTHROP STARR, A.M., Principal.

NEW YORK, Poughkeepsie.
POUGHKEEPSIE FEMALE ACADEMY.
Rev. D. G. WHITFIELD, Rector.
A first-class school in every respect. The teachers in the several departments are accomplished and experienced. The facilities for a thorough and finished education are second to none, while no effort is spared to make this a refined, Christian, and happy home for pupils.
For circulars containing terms, references, etc., please address the Rector, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

NEW YORK, Poughkeepsie.
VASSAR COLLEGE.—*Fall Session opens* September 19, 1877.
Entrance examinations September 19, 20, and 21.
Catalogues, with full particulars, may be had of the undersigned.
The Department of Music, Drawing and Painting will be open hereafter as a school for special instruction in those arts.
For circular containing full information apply to
W. L. DEAN,
Registrar.

NEW YORK, Rhinebeck.
DE GARMO INSTITUTE.—*A first-class school*, at reasonable rates, for both sexes. For particulars address the Principal, JAMES M. DE GARMO.

NEW YORK, Rye, Westchester Co.
PARK INSTITUTE.—*for Boys*. Reopens Sept. 11. HENRY TATLOCK, A.M., Principal.
Fifteen acceptable boys are admitted to reside with the Principal. Terms, \$500 a year. See *Nation*, No. 631.

NEW YORK, Rye, Westchester Co.
RYE SEMINARY for YOUNG LADIES.—Address Mrs. S. J. LIFE.

NEW YORK, Saugerties-on-Hudson.
KEARSARGE SCHOOL FOR BOYS.
FREDERICK THOMPSON, Principal.

NEW YORK, Sing Sing.
OSWING INSTITUTE for Young Ladies will reopen Sept. 18.
Regular collegiate course. Languages, Music, and Painting. Terms moderate.
For circular address Miss S. M. VAN VLECK.

NEW YORK, Suspension Bridge.
DE VEAUX COLLEGE.—*Prepares for the Universities, etc.* Terms \$400 per annum. 20 Foundation scholarships. Rev. GEO. HERBERT PATTERSON, President.

NEW YORK, Syracuse, Olive, cor. Wallace Streets.
SYRACUSE CLASSICAL SCHOOL.—Classics, modern languages, and English thoroughly taught to both sexes. W. C. GINN, A.M., Principal.

NEW YORK, Tarrytown, Main Street, next door to the National Bank.
MISS McDONALD, of 788 Broadway, New York, will teach Drawing and Water-Colors from Nature in Tarrytown during the summer. Terms \$30 for twenty lessons of one hour each at the pupil's residence; \$20 for twenty lessons at Miss McDonald's rooms. Payable in advance. A reduction will be made for classes.

NEW YORK, Tivoli-on-the-Hudson.
TRINITY SCHOOL.—*Healthful location*; home comforts; thorough training; assiduous care of health, manners, and morals; bad boys excluded. For catalogue address the Rev. JAMES STARR CLARK, D.D., Rector.

NEW YORK, Troy.
RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE.—A School of Civil Engineering.

NEW YORK, Unionville, Orange Co.
FAMILY SCHOOL for BOYS.—*Offers a safe and pleasant home and thorough preparation for any college or for business*. S. S. HARTWELL, A.M.

NEW YORK, Utica.
MRS. PLATT'S SCHOOL for Young Ladies.—Fall term begins Sept. 17.

NEW YORK, White Plains, Westchester Co.
ALEXANDER INSTITUTE.—*Military Boarding-School*. Principal, O. R. WILLIS, Ph.D.

OHIO, Cincinnati.
COLLEGIATE SCHOOL fits thoroughly for Yale and Harvard. Modern languages. Home comforts combined with school discipline.
E. F. BLISS, A.M., (Principal).
Rev. J. BABIS, A.B.,

OHIO, Cincinnati.
WESLEYAN FEMALE COLLEGE.—Best advantages in Literature, Science, Languages, Painting, and Music.
Rev. DAVID H. MOORE, D.D., President.

OHIO, Yellow Springs, Greene Co.
ANTIOCH COLLEGE, embracing College, High School, and Free Normal School. Opens the fall term September 12, 1877. Address S. C. DERRY, President.

PENNSYLVANIA, Andalusia, Bucks Co.
POTTER HALL.—*A Home Boarding School* for Little Boys, on New York Division of Pennsylvania Railroad, two and a half hours from New York.
Location delightful and healthy.
Doctor's bill, only two dollars for entire school for the year ending June, '77.
Charges moderate.
Next terms begins September 10.
A. N. ARMS, jr., Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Bethlehem.
LEHIGH UNIVERSITY.—*Tuition free*. Civil, Mechanical, and Mining Engineering; Chemistry and Metallurgy; full Classical Instruction; French and German; English Literature; International and Constitutional Law; Psychology and Christian Evidences.
For registers address
The Rev. JOHN M. LEAVITT, D.D., President.

PENNSYLVANIA, Chester.
PENNSYLVANIA MILITARY ACADEMY opens September 12.
Location healthful; grounds ample; buildings commodious.
Thorough instruction in Civil Engineering, the Classics, and English.
Careful supervision of Cadets.
For circulars apply to Col. THEO. HYATT, President.

PENNSYLVANIA, Downingtown, Chester Co.
M. B. THOMAS'S SISTERS, formerly Mary B. Thomas & Sisters' School. The fall term will begin 17th, ninth mo. (Sept.), 1877.

PENNSYLVANIA, Germantown.
GERMANTOWN ACADEMY will commence its 117th school year Sept. 10, 1877, under entirely new management, the following officers having been elected by the Board of Trustees:
WM. KERSHAW, A.M., Principal;
M. C. KIMBER, Vice-Principal.

Every exertion will be made to restore the former high standard and reputation of the Academy, and to render it in all respects a thorough training school for our best colleges and universities.
Applications to be addressed to WM. KERSHAW, Principal, Apsley Street, Germantown.

PENNSYLVANIA, Germantown.
MADAME CLEMENTS SCHOOL for Young Ladies and Children.—Established in 1857. The Fall Session will begin on Wednesday, Sept. 19. For circulars apply to the Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Germantown, West Chelten Avenue, below Wayne Street.
MISS MARY E. STEVENS'S, formerly Miss Mary E. Aertsen and Miss Mary E. Stevens's, School for Young Ladies, will reopen Sept. 19, 1877. Scholars prepared for the Harvard Examinations for Women.

PENNSYLVANIA, Haverford College P. O.
HAVERFORD COLLEGE, under the care of the Society of Friends (Orthodox). THOS. CHASE, A.M., Pres. For catalogues address Prof. S. ALSTON, jr.

PENNSYLVANIA, Media, Delaware Co., thirteen miles from Philadelphia.
BROOKE HALL Female Seminary opens September 17.
For catalogues apply to M. L. EASTMAN, Principal.

